affairs. Men of proven wisdom and experience taught the 624
young in the *telpuchcalli*, or houses of youth. Others kept
the records of tribute and wealth in the clan storehouses,
superintended the distribution of this communal property
and even went abroad to supervise its collection.

Each clan had its elected officers whose positions dominated 618
the administration of the tribe. One official, the *calpullec*, performed
the duties of secretary-treasurer and kept economic
order within the kinship, drawing upon the members of the
body for as much administrative assistance as his task required.
Ranking with him, the *teochcautin* acted as sheriff,
preserving social order and enforcing it. In wartime he commanded
the military forces of the clan. Linking the clans to 646
the tribe were the *tlatoani*, or "speakers," the supreme council,
composed of a member from each clan and exercising
judicial and directive functions. The wisest men and the most
distinguished attained this post, for on them depended the
well-being of the whole tribe. (See Plate 39, top right.)

Just as the clan had its executive officers, so this tribal body 701
elected four officials who controlled the military forces of the
four quarters, or phratries, into which the twenty clans were [615]
evenly divided. They maintained order among the clans and
exercised tribal authority in disputes and crimes that could
not be settled by the clan itself. Two were especially concerned
with judicial matters; the third was an executioner,
and the fourth acted as an intermediary between civil and
military affairs.*

These four offices were the proving ground to test the 701
abilities of the supreme chief and the religious leader. In 643
Tlaxcala* it appears that they jointly exercised the executive

---

*Tlash-ca'-la.

701 leadership. In Tenochtitlan the supreme chief, *tlacatecuhtli*,
●643 "chief of men," was always chosen from the four and often
[776] occupied first the position of "Snake Woman," a name also given to an important fertility goddess, Cihuacoatl.* The functions of these high chiefs are difficult to interpret in terms of Western civilization. Roughly the "chief of men" may be said to have represented the tribe in its external affairs, like war and alliances. As such the office had a greater significance to the Spanish observers who saw its holder as the leader of the tribe. The "Snake Woman" was the executive peak of the internal affairs of the tribe, where civil custom and religious demand governed almost every act. It is important to realize, however, that these chiefs could be deposed by the council at any time, if their services were unsatisfactory.

643 The continual election of such high officers from the same
646 family or lineage, when democratic procedure obtained elsewhere, is harder to explain. Tradition is strong in primitive communities, and a family that produced one effective man might in the next generation produce another. The council in Tenochtitlan chose successive chiefs from a fairly wide range—brothers, sons, nephews and half brothers were scrutinized in the rigid proving ground of public service. Furthermore, a wise council, exercising its tremendous powers, could make a puppet "chief of men" seem effective as its representative in extratribal affairs. Even then, to be considered for election a person of privileged birth had to meet the long series of tests on which eminence was based.

441 Two other specialized fields were open to Aztec youth:
463 trade and craftsmanship. Trade was a new development in

*Se′e-wah-co-atl.

532

[696]

[871]

● [643
292]

[796]

[644]

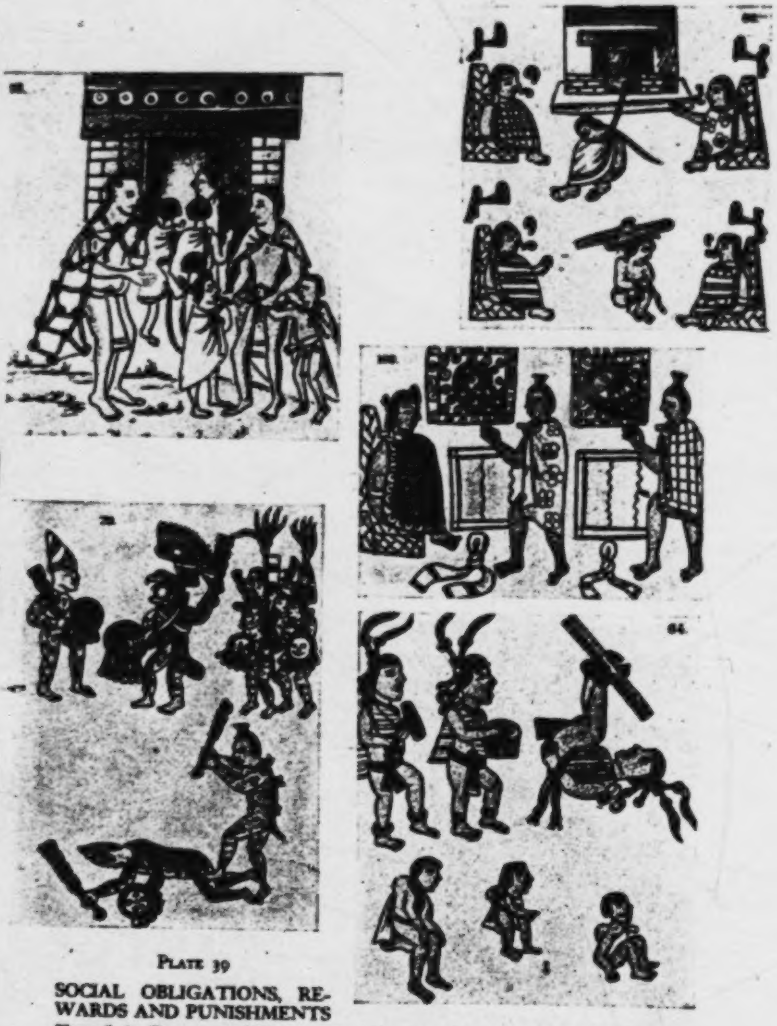


PLATE 39

SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS, REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

TOP: *Left:* Boys are taken by their fathers to the school or *Calmecac.* These people are of the poorer classes. *Right:* Four chiefs sentence criminals to death by noose and clubs for outrageous crimes. MIDDLE: *Left:* Warriors of proven worth engage in ceremonial combat. They wear the costume of warriors' orders or of chiefs. *Right:* A tribal ruler invests two leading men with badges and trappings of rank. BOTTOM: *Right:* Montezuma had professional entertainers, hunchbacks, jugglers and musicians.

[p. 128(A)]

Paying only the most cursory attention to this pious little 174
scene, knots of chiefs were converging on a large building at 721
a corner of the plaza. The war chief, Montezuma, was planning 644
an attack on a neighboring town, remiss in its tribute payment, so there must be a gathering of clan leaders to prepare for war. Adorned with helmets like the heads of jaguars, eagles and wolves, girt with armor of wadded cotton brocaded in many colors or embroidered with feathers, their faces set with nose and lip ornaments of jade and gold, these fierce-visaged chiefs passed proudly through the door, but in an anteroom to the council chamber they stripped off their
ornaments. Then bareheaded and barefooted, with downcast [643]
eyes, they made their way to the throne, where sat the slim figure of Montezuma, simply dressed but for the gold crown and jade earrings of his exalted office. (See Plate 33.)

The austerity of the council chamber was not borne out 174
by Montezuma's other apartments, which contained all the 644
appurtenances of a sybaritic potentate. The war chief's two wives and his many concubines occupied magnificent quarters. Kitchens and storehouses were spread over another great space, for not only were there some three hundred guests served at each meal but also a thousand guards and attendants. In contrast to the profusion within, outside the kitchen door squatted patiently a threadbare group of countrymen from whose carrying bags swayed the mottled heads of the trussed turkeys which they had brought as offerings for the royal larder.

Other rooms in Montezuma's palace contained the tribal treasure, composed of the tribute wrung from many towns. Gold, jade, rich feather mantles, baskets of produce, were heaped in abundance. Clerks were listing the goods in pic-

city-states, or pueblos, between the Valley of Mexico and 175 669
the coast were independent communities and, even if tributary to the Valley powers, were often reluctantly so. Therefore, many of these tribes, like the Totonacs, welcomed the invaders as the spearhead for an open revolt. Others, like the completely independent and warlike Tlaxcalans, put the power of Cortes to a practical test in open battle and, when the Spaniards won, became the most loyal of Cortes' supporters. Cholula, a large town loosely allied to the Aztecs, met the Spaniards as friends, plotting to overcome them by treachery, a good Indian political maneuver instigated, perhaps, by Montezuma. The Spaniards, suspecting such a move, counteracted its efficacy by a judiciously executed massacre, thus, if not gaining a friendly community, at least creating a noncombatant one. (See Figs. 7–9.)

Montezuma and his more cautious counselors watched this 175 643

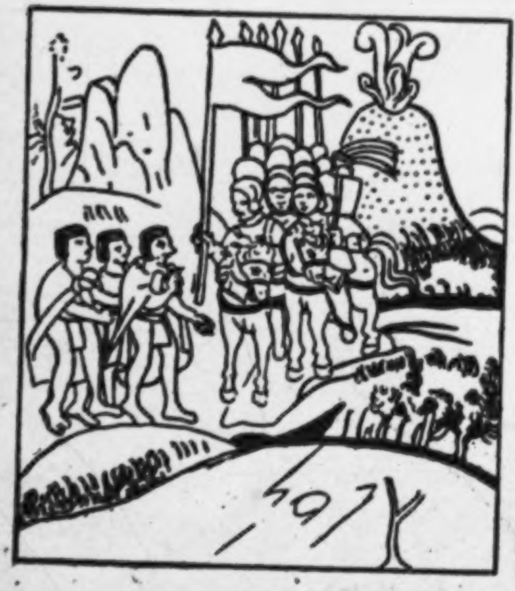


Fig. 7. Cortes and his army, on passing the great volcanoes southeast of Mexico City, ask the way. Note the smoke issuing from the crater of Popocatepetl. *Codex Florentino*

[532]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

775
643
[532]

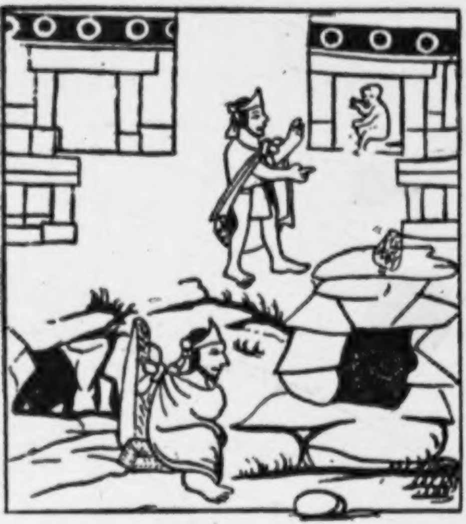


FIG. 8. Montezuma, upset by the magical premonitions of disaster and by the failure of his sorcerers, does not know whether to flee or hide in a cave. *Codex Florentino*

slow ascent from the coast with apprehensive interest. He has been condemned by many commentators as an appeaser and has been made the scapegoat of this great debacle of Indian civilization. Yet consider his position. While the leading man in his community, he was not an authoritarian monarch. For mass action he had to rely on the group decision of the clans comprising his tribe, as well as on the very doubtful allegiances of the vassal states, whose immediate needs transcended any sacrifice of a far-reaching political nature. Thus not only the demands of the harvest season but also the fear of damage to the communal property made communities loath for war. Montezuma had no method of enforcing a long-range diplomatic policy, such as is so characteristic of European and oriental political history. Nor must the extraordinary gifts of Cortes and his Indian mistress Marina be underrated. The pair played on Indian psychology as master pianists would execute a duet on the piano.

And they fastened the new

with a rope about the waist, and [guards] held them tightly [with it] when they [went forth to] urinate. And when it was midnight, then hair was cut from the [crowns of] the heads of all of them; they cut their hair as hath been told and published. And when their hair had been cut, then feathers were pasted [to their heads], and also they pasted feathers [to the heads of] the women. And, as during the night, none of the guards might sleep by day.[10]

And when day began to break and it grew bright, thereupon (as hath been told) were burned the [bathed ones' raiment]; when these were burned, then once more they entered indoors. And some did not burn their belongings, but offered and gave them to others.

And when it dawned [again], then all were once more adorned. Thereupon they went to the place where they were to die; they went ordered in rows. When they reached where they were to die, then they danced and sang spiritedly. It was said that [they sang until] their voices cracked; that they were hoarse.

And when the sun had passed the zenith, then descended [he who was adorned in the likeness of] Paynal. He led and was first among the captives, who would become the fundament [of the ceremonially bathed victims]. When the captives died, then [they slew] the ceremonially bathed ones, who [were adorned in the likeness of] Ixcoçauhqui.

And when they had completely ended the slaying, when it was so, [then] all the chiefs and lords, who were men due great reverence, were ready, and stood waiting in complete array. Moctezuma led them. He had put on the turquoise diadem, the royal diadem.

And all put on their turquoise nose plugs and [their] turquoise ear pendants, [made of] fine turquoise. And some [had] only [ear pendants] made of wood and painted like turquoise. And they put on their sleeveless jackets and turquoise [blue] waist bands well ornamented, and the Xolotl jewel which had the form of a dog. [It was] made of paper and painted turquoise [blue]. And [they put on] breech clouts of paper painted with black stripes. And these were painted only with black.

And in their hands were staves, which were small and shaped like weaving sticks and painted in two colors—red above and chalky white below. In either

ic tetzoncujoa, qujntzoncuj: in juh omjto, in juh omoteneuh: auh in ontetzoncujoac: njmã ie ic tepotonjlo, no qujnpotonja in cioa: auh in juh ceiooal, aocac ma ontlacacochi in tlapixque. 796x [514]

Auh in otlavizcalli moquetz, in ie tlatlalchipaoa: njmã ie ic motlatlatlatilia (in juh omjto) in ommotlatlatlatilique: njmã ie ic no ceppa calaquj in inician: auh in aca amo qujmotlatlatilia in jaxca, çan qujtetlauhtia, çan qujtemamaca.

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ic no ceppa techichioalo: njmã ie ic vi in vmpa mjqujzque, motecpana: in onacique vmpa mjqujzque: njmã ie ic mjtotia, mocujca ellaquaoa: omach intozqujtzatzaian, omach ihiçaoacaque: [533]

Auh in ie ommotzcaloa tonatiuh; njmã ie ic oaltemo in Paynal, qujnoaliacana, iacattivi in mamalti, in impepechoan muchioa: in ommjcque mamalti: njmã iehoã in tlaaltilti in ixcoçauhq̃.

Auh in ocentlanque mjquj in ie iuhquj: auh in ixqujchtin tlatoque, in tetecutin in cenca maviztililonj, ie ic manj, ça qujchixtimanj omocencauhq̃, qujniacana in Motecuçoma: ocontlali xiuhvitzolli, in tlatocaiotl: 796x 301 [643]

yoan contlalia iacaxivitl in muchinti, yoã conaquja xiuhnacochtli, vel xivitl. Auh in cequjntin çan quavitl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli yoan cõmaquja xicolli, xiuhtlalpilli, vel tlaiecchioalli, yoã in xolocozquj iuhqujn chichiton ic ietiuh; amatl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli, yoan iamamaxtli, acaxilquj injc tlacujlolli: auh çan tlilli injc tlacujlolli.

Auh in immac oonotiuh quavitl, çan tepitoton tlatzotzopaztectli, chictlapãquj; in aco chichiltic, auh 796x 293 [386]

---

10. *"En aquella noche nadie dormía"* seems to be the corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*. See, however, Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, Vol. II (1946), p. 171, for a discussion of [illegible] in composition.

Tzonmolco.

Tzonmolco: here died four named [and arrayed as] Xiuhtecutli. The first was named Blue Xiuhtecutli; the second, Yellow; the third, White Xiuhtecutli; the fourth, Red Xiuhtecutli. And others named Iuipapaneca temilolca [were also slain]. And she who was named Ciuatontli, and also [she who was] named Nancotlaceuhqui, [likewise] died, [having] their breasts [slashed open].

And when they were slain, thereupon came Moctezuma forth then to the Coacalco. Thereupon was danced a princely dance, and all chiefs danced. Moctezuma led them; he led [priests arrayed as] all the various gods. And when all had danced, when all had danced the serpent dance, thereupon Moctezuma offered incense [to the gods].

And this was done upon the feast of Izcalli, once yearly.

Coatlan.

Coatlan: here died those who were named the Centzonuitznaua, perchance at the time of the fire drilling [of new fire] or, yearly, at the end of the feast of Quecholli.

Xochicalco.

Xochicalco: here died [they who were arrayed in the likeness of] the White Cinteotl and of the Red Cinteotl; and also that one [impersonating the goddess] Atla tonan.

And when Atla tonan died, thereupon they flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then the fire-priest put on her skin.

And when day broke, thereupon the fire priest danced—he stood wearing the skin of Atla tonan. And this was done yearly, at the feast of Ochpaniztli.

Yopicalco and Euacalco.

Yopicalco and Euacalco: here stayed the leading men from Anauac, who came from distant cities.

And greatly did Moctezuma honor them. Here he gave them gifts; he gave them rich mantles, or precious necklaces, or costly arm bands. Whatever was of value, he gave to all of them.

Tzonmolco.

796^{x}

346

In tzonmolco. vncan miq'a yn jtoca catca xiuhtecutli naujntin. Jnjc ce ytoca, xoxouhquj xiuhtecutli. Jnjc vme coçauhquj. Jnjc ey iztac xiuhtecutli. Jnjc nauj tlatlauhquj xiuhtecutli: yoã oc cequjntin intoca, ihujpapaneca, temjlolca: auh tlaelpanmjquja, yn jtoca catca cioatontli, no iehoatl ytoca nancotlaceuhquj.

[643 ●

622]

535]

Auh yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oalquijça, in Motecuçoma, in vmpa coacalco: njman ie ic motecujtotia, yoan ixqujch tlacatl mjtotia, teiacanaia in motecuçoma, qujniacanaia, in nepapã teteu. Auh yn onnetotiloc yn onnecocololoc, njmã ie ic tlenamaca yn motecuçoma:

auh in muchioa yn, ipan izcalli cexiuhtica.

Cooatlan.

In cooatlan, vncan mjquja in jntoca catca centzonvitznaoa: aço yquac in tlamamalioaia, anoço yquac in quecholli tlamj cexiuhtica.

Suchicalco.

In suchicalco, vncan mjquja in jztac cinteoutl, yoan tlatlauhquj cinteoutl, yoan no iehoatl in atla tonan.

Auh in jquac oommjc atla tonan: njman ye ic qujxipeoa: auh in jquac oconxipeuhque, njman in tlenamacac conmaqujaia yn jieoaio.

Auh in jquac otlathujc: njman ye ic mitotia in tlenamacac, conmaqujticac in jieoaio atla tonan: auh in muchioaia y, cexiuhtica, ipan in ochpanjztli.

Iopicalco, yoan eoacalco.

[648]

[574]

In iopicalco, yoan eoacalco, vncan onoca in anaoac tlatoque, in veca altepetl ipan oalvia:

[431]

auh cenca qujnmaviztiliaia in Motecuçoma, vncan qujntlauhtiaia: qujnmacaia in tlaçotilmatli, anoço tlaçocozcatl, anoço tlaçomacuextli: in ie ixqujch tlaçotli, muchi qujnmacaia.

● 643 **Ninth Chapter**, in which is told that with which the rulers were arrayed when they danced.

301 [237] The [head] band with [two] quetzal feather[1] tassels set off with gold, with which they bound their hair;

A quetzal feather crest device set off with gold, which he bore upon his back;

[237] A finely wrought headdress of red spoonbill[2] feathers, with flaring quetzal feathers, and with it a drum [covered] with gold—a device which he bore upon his back as he danced;

A golden arm band;[3]

Golden ear plugs, which he inserted [in the lobes of his ears];

[281] [314] A wrist band of cured leather, on which was a large, round, green stone or a fine turquoise which he placed on his wrist; [it was] treated with Peru balsam, so that it gleamed;

A green stone lip plug set in gold;

[237] A long, white labret of clear crystal, shot through with blue cotinga[4] feathers, in a gold setting, which he inserted in his [lower] lip;

[317] A long, yellow labret of amber in a gold setting;

643 A long, curved, green stone labret, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

301 A gold lip pendant;

532 A gold lip pendant in the form of a pelican;[5]

A gold lip pendant in the form of an eagle;[6]

A gold lip pendant in the form of a fire serpent;

A gold lip pendant in the form of a boating pole;

A disc-shaped lip plug of fine turquoise in a gold setting;[7]

A curved, green stone lip plug in a gold setting;

A green stone lip plug in the form of an eagle, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

Injc chicunauj capitulo vncan motenehoa injn nechichioaia in tlatoque in jquac macehoaia.

Quetzallalpiloni, coztic teocujtlaio injc qujlpiaia, intzon

quetzalpatzactli, coztic teocujtlaio in qujmama

tlauhquetzoltzontlj tlaçotlanquj, quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio, iujcal ueuetl coztic teocujtlaio, in tlaujztli in qujmama mjtotia

teucujtlamatemecatl, coztic

teocujtlanacochtli coztic in caquja

matzopetztli in cuetlaxtli, vej chalchiujtl ololiuhquj, anoço vej teuxiujtl ipan ca in jmaquechtlan qujtlalia ujtzilozitica injc tlachiuhtli injc tlapetzolli

chalchiuhtentetl coztic teucujtlatica callo,

iztac teçacatl, xiuhtototica tlamjntli, iztac teujlotl in jntenco caquja, coztic teucujtlatl in jcallo.

Coztic teçacatl, in apoçonalli teucujtlatica tlacallotilli,

chalchiuhteçacanecujlli, coztic teucujtlatl ic tlatzincallotilli,

teucujtlatempilolli coztic

atototempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

quauhtempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

xiuhcoatempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

aujetempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

temalacatentetl teuxiujtl coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

chalchiuhtencololli, coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

chalchiuhquauhtentetl, coztic teucujtlatl itzincallo,

---

1. Clark, op. cit., II, p. 112, identifies *quetzaltototl* as *Pharomachrus mocinno mocinno.*
2. *Platalea ajaja* L. (Seler, op. cit., p. 124).
3. One such is described more fully in Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 67.
4. Clark, op. cit., p. 134, identifies blue cotinga as *Cotinga amabilis.*
5. Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 102.
6. *Quauhtempilolli: quauh* could mean warrior; elsewhere we always give preference to the meaning eagle.
7. After this phrase, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *chalchiuhtemalacatentetl coztic teucujtlatl yeallo*—a large, circular lip plug of green stone in a gold setting.

● 643 301 [532] A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant;	apatlactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,
A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold;	metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,
A green stone nose rod;	chalchiuhiacamjtl,
A fine turquoise nose rod;	teuxiuhiacamjtl,
A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together;	chalchiuhcozcatl ololiuhquj, tlacenqujxtilli, tlacecotl,
A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8]	coztic teucujtlachaiaoac cozcatl, chalchiuhtlacanaoalli iitic manj,
A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold;	quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,
[237] A golden band for the calf of the leg;	coztic teucujtlacotzeoatl,
A quetzal feather banner held in the hand;	quetzalmacpanjtl,
A quetzal bird as headdress;	quetzaltotoicpacxuchitl,
Quetzal feather horns;	quetzalquaquaujtl,
A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold;	quetzalecaceoaztli coztic teucujtlaio
A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension;	xiuhmacopilli,
A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells;	coztic teucujtlachipulcozcatl,
A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells;	teucujtlacoztic acuechcozcatl,
643 [276 416] Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced.	xuchitl, ietl, ineiscaujl tlatoanj, tezcatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca impial, in isqujch imaçeoaia tlatoanj,
[292 281] Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals.	oçelocoacactli, cuetlaxcactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,
[534] [There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells;	teponaztli, teponaztzatzaztli, veuetl aiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tetzilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,
533 Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant.	cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, ueuetzonanj, tlatzotzonquj, cujcaitoanj,
415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent.	tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in ixqujch omjto. Veuej toptanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacozcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaacaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,
351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance.	xuchiquaujtl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, inezca catca: ca maçenaz in tlatoanj,
415 314 534 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded.	tezcatanatli, tziquaoaztanatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.

---

8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 542; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 389ff., on etymology of *amanteca*.

Tenth Chapter, in which is told how the rulers took their pleasure.

When the ruler went forth, in his hand rested his reed stalk which he went moving in rhythm with his words. His chamberlains and his elders went before him; on both sides, on either hand, they proceeded as they went clearing the way for him. None might cross in front of him; none might come forth before him; none might look up at him; none might come face to face with him.

He sang; songs were learned; chants were intoned. They told him proverbs and pleasantries to pass the time.

They played ball. There were his ball-catchers and his ball-players. They wagered [in this game] all [manner of] costly goods—gold, golden necklaces, green stone, fine turquoise, slaves,[1] precious capes, valuable breech clouts, cultivated fields, houses, leather leg bands, gold bracelets, arm bands of quetzal feathers, duck feather capes, bales of cacao—[these] were wagered there in the game called *tlachtli*.

On the two sides, on either hand, it was limited by walls, very well made, in that the walls and floor were smoothed. And there, in the very center of the ball court, was a line, drawn upon the ground. And on the walls were two stone, ball court rings. He who played caused [the ball] to enter there; he caused it to go in. Then he won all the costly goods, and he won everything from all who watched there in the ball court. His equipment was the rubber ball, the leather gloves, girdles, and leather hip guards.

Patolli was played with large beans—four large beans with holes bored into the surfaces. The game was won when from their hands they scattered the four beans on a mat painted in widely spaced black [lines], with which the *patolli* mat was designed. There went to be added the counters—twelve [of them], six the property of each, the counters of each of the contenders. He who won in playing *patolli*,

Injc matlactli capitulo, ipan mjtoa injc meellel- 643
qujxtiaia tlatoque.

In jcoac qujça tlatoanj, imac onotiuh, iacapitzac, [481]
injc mapilotiuh, injc matlatotiuh qujiacana in jte- 643
chiuhcaoan, in jtaoan, necoc vmac in mantiuj, in 644
qujtlapeujlitiuj: aiac vel qujiacaujltequj, aiac uel ix-
pan qujça, aiac vel acopa qujtta, aiac uel qujxne-
panoa,

cujca, mocujcamachtia, cujcaeheooa, qujtlatla- [521]
quechilia, qujçaçanjlhuja,

vllama, vncatca imolpixcaoa, ioan inmolancaoan, [525
qujtlanjtoa in jxqujch tlaçotli in teucujtlatl, in teu- 526]
cujtlacozcatl, in chalchiujtl, in teuxiujtl, in tlaçotli,
in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in mjlli, in callj, [301
cotzehoatl, teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalmachoncotl, [576
xomoiujtilmatli, cacaoapetlatl in vncan netlanjoa, 314]
itoca tlachtli:

necocampa imac tlatepantectli, cenca tlaiecchiuhtli 345
injc xipetztic in tlachmatl, ioan in tlalmantli: auh in 526
vncan vel inepantla tlachtli, onoca tlecotl tlaxotlalli in
tlalli, auh in jtech tlachmatl, vntetl in tlachtemalacatl
manca, in aqujn ollimanj vncan tlacalaquja, vncan
qujcalaquja olli: njman ic qujtlanj in jxqujch tlaçotli
tlatqujtl, auh muchintin qujntlanj, in jxqujchtin
tetlatlattaque, in vncan tlachco: itlaujcallo in olli,
maicoatl, nelpilonj, queçeoatl.

Patoa ica aiecotli, vevej etl nauhtetl in tlaixcoionjlli 524
injc motlanj immatica in qujchaiaoa in nauhtetl etl,
qujcujloa ce petlatl, tliltica, papatlactic in tlilli, injc
mjcujloa patolpetlatl, in vncan mopouhtiuh tlapoal-
tetl matlactetl omome chichiquacentet[1] imaaca intla-
poalteuh icecemme in jxnamjqui in motlanj in patoa,
qujtlanjlia in ixqujch tlaçotli, coztic teucujtlacozcatl, 524
chalchiujtl, teuxiujtl, matzopetztli ipan ca chalchiujtl 525

---

[1] *Tlaçotli*: the corresponding Spanish has *dados* (*dice*). See also below, description of *patolli*.

-29-

524 won[1] all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green
525 stone, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were round,
green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers,
slaves, houses, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes,
green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather
capes. And he who played patolli, who cast the beans,
if then he made one [of them] stand, if the bean
stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a
[787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then
he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even
though he had not yet attained the specified number
of throws. Thus were all agreed; thus all came to the
end [of the game].

526 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with
411 a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this belonged
a bracelet on which were large, round, green
[301] stones or fine turquoise. The ruler placed it about
● [643] his wrist.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling.
With these belonged a net for the small stones,
rounded so that the small stones were polished. With
[223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted
with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were
laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

522 There were their jesters who provided them solace
524 and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who
rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in
many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous;
for with the soles of his feet one man [lying]
below this did—he made a thick, round log dance
with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his
back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of
his feet he did this.

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There
[752] were their servants, their pages who attended them
and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks,
[231] servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain
cats, and various birds.

[illegible] Auh in [illegible] in etl [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

---

1. The Real Academia de la Historia MS reads [illegible] (he wagered) instead of [illegible].

Eleventh Chapter. Here it is told what the rulers rested upon.

The ocelot skin seat with a back rest; the mountain lion skin seat with a back rest; the wolf skin seat with a back rest; the mountain cat skin seat with a back rest; the cured leather seat with a back rest; the ocelot skin seat, the mountain lion skin seat, the wolf skin seat, the cured leather seat, the mountain cat[1] skin seat, the coyote skin seat.

The ocelot skin mat,[2] the mountain lion skin mat, the mountain cat skin mat, the coyote skin mat, the hammock, smooth reed mats[3] elaborately painted with designs; seats with backs, painted with designs; low seats painted with designs.

Injc matlactli oçe capitulo: vncan mjtoa, in jpan motlaliaia tlatoque. 643 352 281

Oçelocoatepotzoicpalli, mjçcoatepotzoicpalli, cujtlachcoatepotzoicpalli, ocotochcoatepotzoicpalli, cuetlaxtepotzoicpalli, oçelocoaicpalli, mjçcoaicpalli, cujtlachcoaicpalli, cuetlaxicpalli, ocotochcoaicpalli, coiocoaicpalli,

oçelocoapepechtli, mjçcoapepechtli, ocotochcoapepechtli, coiocoapepechtli, cochizmatlatl alaoacapetlatl, tlatlacujlolli, tepotzoicpalli tlacujlolli, tzinjcpalli tlacujlolli.

---

1. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 153.
2. Pepechtli: cf. corresponding Spanish text.
3. Alaoacapetlatl: corresponding Spanish text—"unos petates muy pintados y muy curiosos."

[p.32 is blank]

643
714 Twelfth Chapter, in which it is told how the rulers were arrayed whom they sent to the wars.

The costly red spoonbill headdress set off with gold, having very many quetzal feathers flaring [from it], and with it, borne upon his back, the skin drum upon a carrying frame, and decorated with gold. [237]

And they dressed him in a red shirt, made of red spoonbill feathers [decorated with] flint knives[1] [fashioned of] gold; and his *sapote* leaf skirt was made all of quetzal feathers.

The shield was ringed with thin gold, and its pendants were made of precious feathers.[2]

[He had] a green stone necklace of round, large, green stone and fine turquoise combined.

The ruler placed upon his head a blue cotinga feather headdress which was set off with gold, and had quetzal feathers flaring [from it]. Over the upper part of his body he put a shirt of blue cotinga feathers. [237]

And as a burden for his back [he had] a blue skin drum fashioned on a frame, and [ornamented] with gold.[3]

All quetzal feathers was its *sapote* skirt; and its pendants were all costly feathers. And the [ornaments of] flint knives, for its covering of blue cotinga feathers, were of thin gold [plate].

The ocelot Xipe was made of ocelot skin; its flint knife [decoration] was made of gold.

Its *sapote* leaf skirt was all of quetzal feathers.

The ocelot drum, the burden on his back, was of gold [decorated] with [wavy lines called] hawk scratches. [531]

The shield was covered with blue cotinga feathers and had a disc of gold in the center.

Injc matlactlomome capítulo, vncan mjtoa: injc muchichioaia in tlatoque, in quijtitlanja iaupan.

Tlauhquecholtzontli tlaçotlanquj coztic teucujtlaio: cenca mjiec in quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio: injcal in tlamamalli, veuetl in colotli tlachiuhtli, coztic teucujtlaio:

auh in ichoatl commaquja tlatlauhquj, tlauhquecholiujtl injc tlachiuhtli: coztic teucujtlatl in jtetecpaio, auh in jtzapocue mochiuhtoc ça moch quetzalli.

Chimalli, coztic teucujtlatl, in tlatzotzontli imanaoaio, tlaçoiujtl in jtentlapilollo muchiuhtoc,

chalchiuhcozcatl, tlaconquixtilli in ololiuhquj, in veuej, chalchiujtl, ioan teuxiujtl

xiuhtototzontli, coztic teucujtlaio, quetzalli in jcuecuetlacacaio, in jtzontecon conmaquja tlatoanj: auh in jtlac conaquja xiuhtotocoatl,

auh in tlámamalli xoxouhquj veuetl in colotli tlachiuhtli coztic teucujtlaio

ça much quetzalli in jtzapocue, mochi tlaçoiujtl in jtlapilollo, coztic teucujtlatl in tlacanaoalli in jtetecpaio, in xiuhtotocoatl,

ocelototec, oçelotoatl injc tlachiuhtli, coztic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli in jtetecpaio,

ça much quetzalli in jtzapocue,

oçeloueuetl in tlamamalli coztic teucujtlatl injc tlotloujtequj.

Chimalli xiuhtototica tzauhquj, coztic teucujtlatl ic itixapo,

---

[1] *Tetecpaio*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to *copos de oro* where our translation uses "flint knives." The shape of the copo is similar to that of a knife. Cf. also [illegible], *op. cit.*, and Seler, *op. cit.*, II, p. 594, where *Steinmesser* is used consistently.

[2] The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS follows *muchiuhtoc* with *ça muchi quetzalli ya* [illegible] *muchiuhtoc*—pure quetzal feathers, to which small grasshoppers [of gold] are added at the points.

[3] The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Y colgaban deste plumaje, hacia las espaldas, un atambor pequeñuelo, puesto en una* [illegible], *como para llevar carga.*" This passage Seler (*op. cit.*, II, p. 594) translates as "*Dazu wird auf den Rücken eine Trommel getragen, an einem Gestell befestigt, das mit Gold überzogen ist.*"

● 643 The quetzal feather butterfly was the burden for
714 the back; with it belonged the yellow parrot feather shirt, [decorated] with hawk scratches in gold.

531 The shield with a golden disc had a golden butterfly in the middle. [There was] a quetzal feather claw,[4] with gold. The shirt [which belonged to this] was of yellow parrot feathers.

The golden hood had horns of quetzal feathers; its shirt was of yellow parrot feathers.

The silver hood had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers with hawk scratch [decorations] in gold.

[There were] the quetzal feather banner of the spear house; the silver banner with a spray of quetzal feathers held in a cup at the top; and the golden banner with a spray of quetzal feathers held in a cup at the top.

The finely wrought obsidian butterfly was of quetzal feathers and gold; its teeth and claws were all of precious feathers; and it had quetzal feather horns.

The finely wrought butterfly of [the goddess] Xochiquetzal [was made of] precious feathers; and its horns were of gold and quetzal feathers.

[There was] a quetzal feather crest-like device. With it belonged a blue cotinga-feather shirt; the shield was covered with blue cotinga feathers and had a disc of gold in the center.

The Xolotl head of yellow parrot feathers, with balls of quetzal feathers, was ornamented with gold. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers with hawk scratch decorations in gold.

The blue Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a blue shirt.

The white Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a white shirt.

The bright red Xolotl head was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold; its shirt was likewise bright red.

The headdress of trupial feathers was ornamented with quetzal feathers and gold. With it belonged a shirt of yellow parrot feathers.

The yellow demon of the air was made all of gold, and had quetzal feathers and balls of quetzal feathers.

The blue demon of the air had quetzal feathers, was made all of gold, and had balls of quetzal feathers.

quetzalpapalotl in tlamamalli, inamjc toçeoatl, coztic teucujtlatl injc tlotlaujtecquj.

Chimalli teucujtlatica itixapo, teucujtlapapalotl ijtic manj quetzalazopilli, coztic teucujtlaio, toçeoatl in jeoaio.

Coztic teucujtlaquacalalatli, iquetzalquaquauh, ieoaio coztic toçeoatl.

Iztac teucujtlaquacalalatli, quetzaltecomaio: inamjc toçeoatl coztic teucujtlatl ic tlotlaujtecquj

quetzalpanjtl tlacochcalcaiotl. Iztac teucujtlapanjtl, quetzaltzontecomaio. Coztic teucujtlapanjtl, quetzaltzontecomaio.

Itzpapalotl tlaçotlanquj quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio, in jtlan, in jizti muchi tlaçoiujtl: iquetzalquaquauh.

Xochiquetzalpapalotl, tlaçotlanquj in tlaçoiujtica: ioan coztic teucujtlaio, iquetzalquaquauh

quetzalpatzactli, xiuhtotoeoatl injcallo in chimalli xiuhtototica tzacquj, coztic teucujtlatl ic itixapo,

tozquaxolotl iquetzaltemal, coztic teucujtlaio, toçeoatl inamjc, coztic teucujtlatl injc motlotlaujtec,

xoxouhquj quaxolotl, quetzallo coztic teucujtlaio in jnamjc xoxouhquj eoatl.

Iztac quaxolotl, quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio in jnamjc iztac eoatl.

Chichiltic quaxolotl, quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio, in jeoaio, çan no chichiltic.

Çaquantzontli, quetzallo, coztic teucujtlaio toçeoatl inamjc,

toztzitzimjtl: muchi coztic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli, quetzallo, iquetzaltemal.

Xoxouhquj tzitzimjtl, quetzallo, muchi coztic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli, iquetzaltemal.

---

[4] Cf. discussion in Seler, op. cit., II, pp. [illegible], as well as corresponding Spanish text—"a manera de chapa, y en todo lo [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], de pluma rica, y con oro."

The white demon of the air was of gold,]and had quetzal feather balls.

The yellow, Huastec, pointed, conical cap had a golden [disc] in front and was girt with quetzal feathers. And the shirt was of yellow parrot feathers [decorated with] hawk scratches. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; gold were his ear pendants, with quetzal feather spindles.

The white, Huastec, pointed, conical, paper cap had quetzal feathers bound at the base and a [disc] of gold at the front; its spindles were of quetzal feathers and gold. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate, and gold were his ear pendants.

[For] the bi-colored Huastec, the shirt was half blue and half yellow. His conical, pointed cap was also bi-colored—half blue and half yellow, and it had quetzal feathers girt at the base and a golden [disc] at the front. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; his ear pendants were gold; and his spindles were of quetzal feathers.

The golden conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. The silver conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups.

[There were] shell trumpets and clay pipes which were blown in battle so that the warriors might set forth together to fight. The standard, [which was] of gold, and the quetzal feather banner dispatched the men to battle. When it was seen that already all the standards were raised, then the warriors set forth together to do battle.

The quetzal feather sun [consisted of] a golden sun, and in the middle of it was a circle of quetzal feathers. The young maize flower crest had, as its leaves, quetzal feathers, and [was ornamented] with flint knives [fashioned of] gold. On his temples went plate-like pieces of gold. The wooden sword [was provided] with obsidian blades [set in] a groove at its edge. The headdress of quetzal and heron feathers [ornamented] with gold, [had] single quetzal feathers, and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it. There was] the ocelot wine jar, whose foam had single quetzal feathers [set in it], and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it].

Iztac tzitzimjtl, coztic teucujtlaio, iquetzaltemal. 643

Coztic cuextecatl icopil ujtzauhquj, inquateucujtlaio, quetzaltica cujtlalpic: auh in coatl, toçoiatl 714 531
motlotloujtec, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol, coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal.

Iztac cuextecatl iamacal ujtzauhquj, quetzaltica cujtlalpic, inquateucujtlaio, imamalacaquetzal teucujtlaio: coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl.

Chictlapanquj cuextecatl, çectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic in coatl, icopil ujtzauhquj, no chictlapanquj, cectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic quetzaltica cujtlalpic, inquateucujtlaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal.

Coztic teucujtlacopilli quetzaltecomaio. Iztac teucujtlacopilli, quetzaltecomaio,

tlapitzalli tecuçiztli, ioan quiqujztli in mopitza 534
iauc inje çemeca iauquiçaque, inje mjcali: in quach- 727
panjtl, coztic teucujtlapanjtl: ioan quetzalpanjtl in teiujtia in iauc, in omottac ie moquequetza in jaquj quachpanjtl. Niman çemeca in iauquiçaque, inje mjcali,

quetzaltonatiuh, coztic teucujtlatl in tonatiuh ijtic 643
manca in quetzalli iaoaltic. Xilonxochipatzactli, que- 714
tzalli in jiamaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jtecpaio, in jcanauacan mamantiuh: coztic teucujtlatl in tlacomaltectli. Maquaujtl itztitlan in jtenco tlatectli, quetzalaztatzontli, teucujtlaio, quetzalxixilquj: auh in [441]
jcuecuetlacacaio mjiac quetzalli, oçelotlachicomjtl, in jpoçonca quetzalxixilquj: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio mjiec in quetzalli.

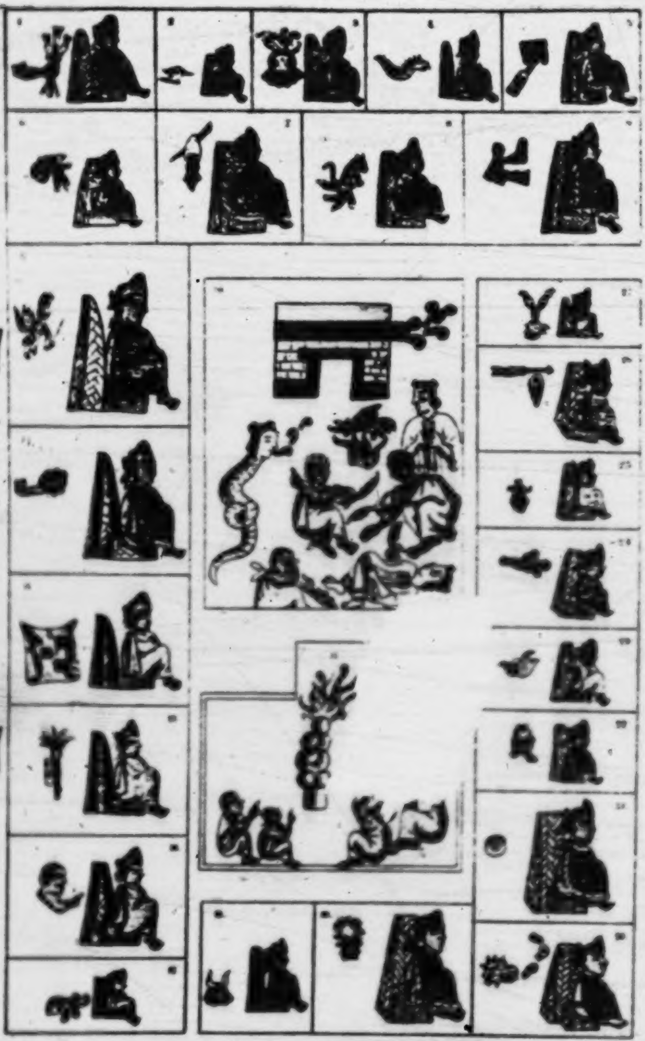
[p. 36 has no textual material]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7

175
532
●643
292

[787]

[787]



—After Paso y Troncoso

Rulers of Tenochtitlan. 1. Acamapichtli. 2. Uitzilihuitl. 3. Chimalpopoca. 4. Itzcoatl. 5. Moctezuma the Elder. 6. Axayacatl. 7. Tiçoc. 8. Auitzotl. 9. Moctezuma the Younger. 12. Quauhtemoc. 13. Don Andrés Motelchiuh. 14. Don Pablo Xochiquen. 15. Don Diego Uanitl. 16. Don Diego Tehuetzquiti. 17. Don Cristóbal Cecepatic. (Chapter 1.)

10, 11. Omens observed in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 1).

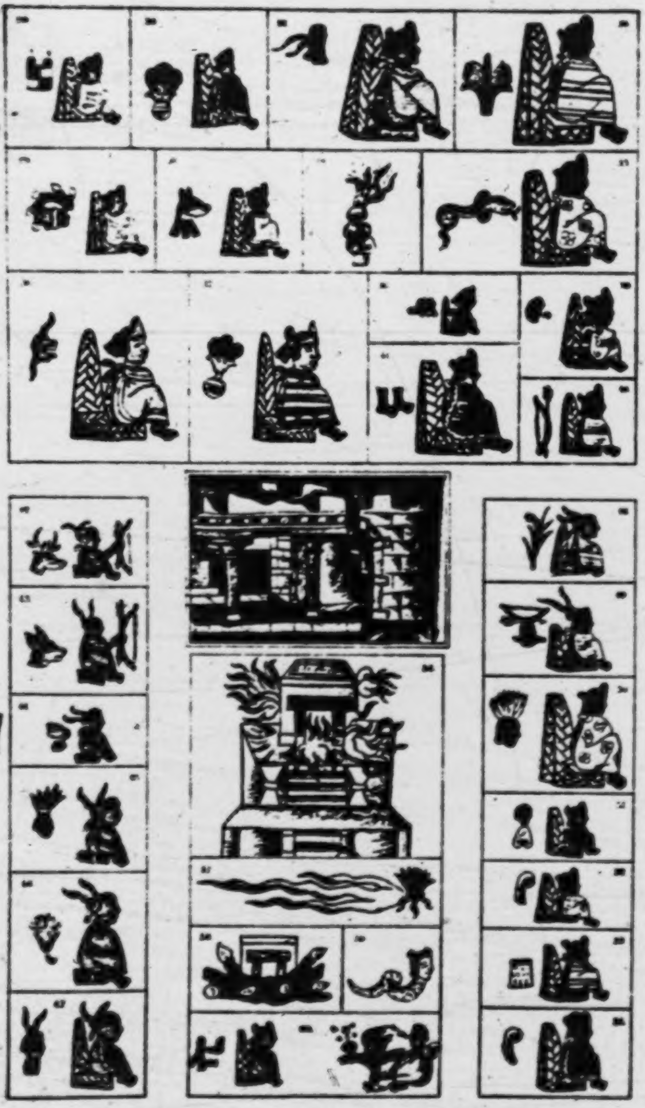
Rulers of Tlatilulco. 18. Quaquapitzauac. 19. Tlacateotl. 20. Quauhtlatoa. 21. Moquiuix. 22. Don Pablo Temilo. 23. Don Martín Ecatl. 24. Don Juan Auelitoc. 25. Don Martín Tlacatecatl. 26. Don Diego Uitznauatlailotlac. 27. Don Alonso Quauhnochtli. (Chapter 2.)

[p. 36(c)]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954

NU7 Aztec NU7

● 643
175
532
292
[787]



[787]

—After Paso y Troncoso

Rulers of Texcoco. 28. Tlaltecatzin. 29. Techotlalatzin. 30. Ixtlilxochitl. 31. Neçaualcoyotzin. 32. Neçaualpilli. 34. Cacamatzin. 35. Coanacochtzin. 36. Tecocoltzin. 37. Ixtlilxochitl. 38. Yoyontzin. 39. Tetlauecuetzquiti. 40. Don Antonio Tlauitoltzin. 41. Don Hernando Pimentel. (Chapter 3.)

33. Omens observed in Texcoco (Chapter 3).

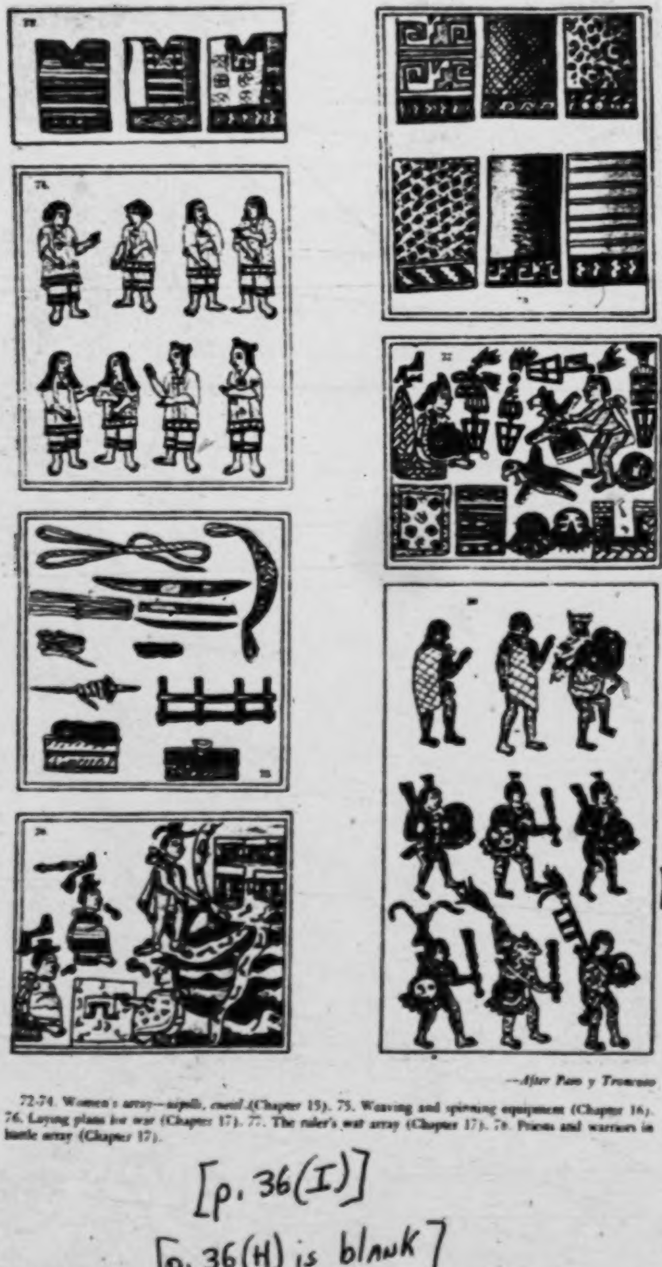
Rulers of Uexotla. 42. Maçatzin tecutli. 43. Tochin tecutli. 44. Ayotzin tecutli. 45. Quatlauice tecutli. 46. Totoquechtzin. 47. Xayatzin tecutli. 48. Xilotzin tecutli. 49. Itlacauhtzin. 50, Tlaçolyaotzin. 51. Tzontemoctzin. 52. Cuetlauatzin. 53. Tzapocuetzin. 54. Cuitlauatzin. (Chapter 4.)

55. Tollan (Chapter 5).

Omens observed in Tenochtitlan. 56. Burning temple. 57. Comet. 58. Inundation. 59. Cioacoatl weeping. 60. Bird with mirror on its head. (Chapter 6.)

[p. 36(E)]

[p. 36(D) is blank]



532

[291
302]

C

[643 ●
714]

[283
286]

[701
714
793
411]

[723]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

72-74. Women's array—*huipilli, cueitl* (Chapter 15). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(I)]

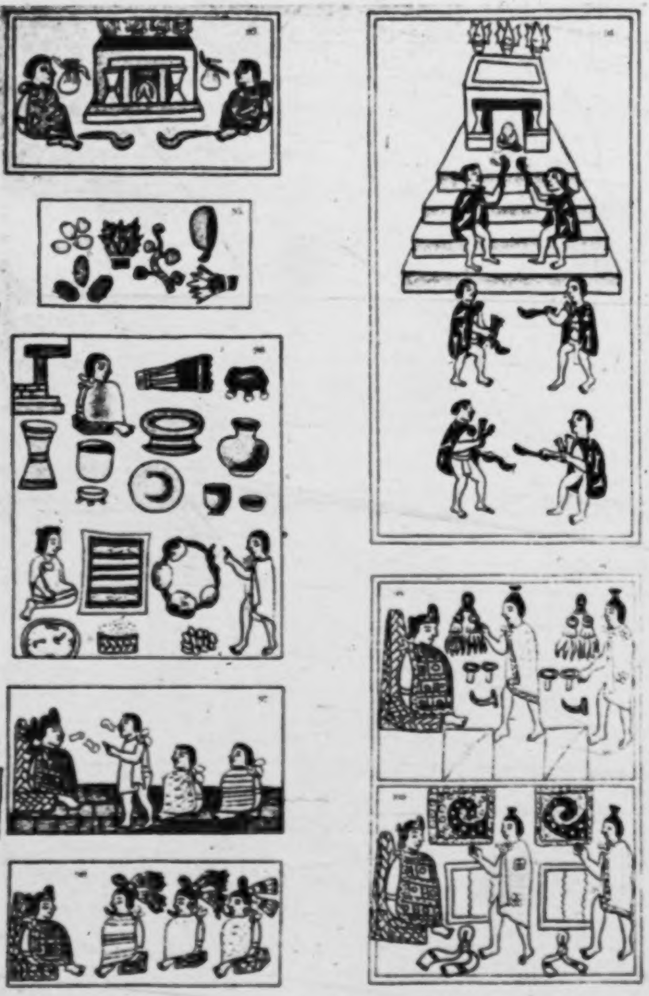
[p. 36(H) is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7

532
[796
●643]

[366
[262]
415]

[643
[701]
431]



—*After Paso y Troncoso*

93, 94. Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 18). 95, 96. Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19). 97-100. Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21).

[p. 36(0)]
[p. 36(N) is blank]

Rats with sauce; hot maize gruel of many kinds; maize gruel with honey, with chili and honey, with yellow chili; white, thick gruel with a scattering of maize grains; sour, white maize gruel; sour, red maize gruel with fruit and chili; small, green tomatoes[20] with a maize gruel made with anonas; maize gruel made with amaranth and toasted maize; maize gruel with fish-amaranth seeds and honey; cold maize gruel; maize gruel with wrinkled chía,[21] covered with green chilis or small, hot chilis;[22] white maize gruel with chía,[23] covered with yellow chilis; maize gruel with chía, covered with squash seeds and with chili; maize gruel made of tortilla crumbs, and with ordinary and wrinkled chía, covered with small chilis.

All these foods came forth from within the house of the ruler.

And daily a man, the majordomo, set out for the ruler his food—two thousand kinds of various foods; hot tortillas, white tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; red tamales; the main meal of roll-shaped tortillas and many [foods]: sauces with turkeys, quail, venison, rabbit, hare, rat, lobster, small fish, large fish; then all [manner of] sweet fruits.

And when the ruler had eaten, then all the food was divided. Apart, in the city, the lords ate, and all the people from surrounding lands—the ambassadors, the war messengers, the princes, the judges, the high priests, the seasoned warriors, the valiant men of war, the masters of the youths, the rulers of the youths, the keepers of the gods, the priests, the singers, [the ruler's] pages, his servants, his jugglers, and the various artisans, goldsmiths, feather workers, cutters of precious stones, setters of mosaic, sandal makers, and turquoise cutters.[24]

Then, in his house, the ruler was served his chocolate, with which he finished [his repast]—green, made of tender cacao; honeyed chocolate made with ground-up dried flowers—with green vanilla pods; bright red chocolate; orange-colored chocolate; rose-colored chocolate; black chocolate; white chocolate.[25]

toçanmolli, totonquj atolli, mjiec tlamantli, nequatolli, chilnequatolli, chilcozio, quauhnexatolli tlatzincujtl, iztac xocoatolli, chichiltic, chilxocoatolli, mjltomatl inamjc cheioatolli, oauhatolli izqujo, mjchioaoatolli necuio, itztic atolli, chiantzotzolatolli, chilchopanj, anoço chiltecpinpanj, iztac chianatolli chilcozpanj, chianpitzaoac atolli, aiohoachpanj chillo, tlaçiocuepalatolli chiantzotzollo, ioan chianio chiltecpinpanj 565 262

in jxqujch tlamantli, y, tlaqualli icalitic, oalqujça tlatoanj. 643

Auh in momoztlae, ice tlacatl calpixquj qujtequjlia in tlatoanj, in jtlaqual macujltzontli in nepapan tlaqualli, in totonquj tlaxcalli in jztac quatecujcujlli in chichiltic tamalli, in vej tlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjili: ioan cenca mjiec tlamantli in jmollo in jvical in totoli, çolli, maçanacatl, tochi, çitli, tuçan, chacali, topotli, tlacamjchin, njman iee in jxqujch necutic xochiqualli. [644] 262

Auh in jquac in otlaqua tlatoanj, njman ic moxexeloa, in jxqujch tlaqualli: nononqua tlaqua in altepetl ipan tlatoque, ioan in jxqujch cemanaoacatl in tlatocatitlanti, in moiautitlâque, in tlaçopipilti, in tecutlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoaque, tiacahoan, tiachcahoan, telpuchtlatoque teupixque, tlamacazque, cujcanjme, in quezqujtlamantli, ixoloa, iiahachhoan, tetlaueuetzqujtique: ioan nepapan toltecatl, teucujtlapitzque, amanteca, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, caçoque, teuxinque. 264 [643] 463 565

Niman moteca in jcalitic: iecauj in jcacaoauh, xoxouhquj cacaoaçintli, quauhnecujo cacaoatl, xochiocacaoatl, xoxouhquj tlilxochio, chichiltic cacaoatl, vitztecolcacaoatl, xochipalcacaoatl, tiltic cacaoatl, itztac cacaoatl 643 264 272

---

[20] Ibid., p. 237; small tomatoes; Simeón, op. cit., green; Hernández, op. cit., III, p. 699: "los más chicos milomates, es decir, de sombra."

[21] Sahagún, op. cit., p. 364: "Chía arrugada. Salvia sp?" Santamaría, op. cit., III, p. 986: Salvia polystachya; Hernández, op. cit., I, p. 210: Salvia hispanica Linn.

[22] Santamaría, op. cit., I, p. 496: Capsicum microcarpum DC.—"En Méjico, chile indígena, como del tamaño de una pulga y muy picante." In Hernández, op. cit., II, p. 435, it is identified as C. frutescens L., var. baccatum L.: "del nombre de los mosquitos, a los que parece imitar en la pequeñez y en el color."

[23] Sahagún, op. cit., p. 364: "Salvia hispanica. L. Salvia"; Santamaría, op. cit., I, p. 480: Salvia chian, S. hispanica L.

[24] The Spanish text has barbers, which would require [illegible].

[25] Tilitc and itztac are as they appear in the Codex; tliltic and iztac are probably meant.

643 The chocolate was served in a painted gourd vessel, with a stopper also painted with a design, and
264
[having] a beater; or in a painted gourd, smoky [in
272
color], from neighboring lands, with a gourd stop-
415
per, and a jar rest of ocelot skin or of cured leather. In a small net were kept the earthen jars, the strainer with which was purified the chocolate, a large, earthen jar for making the chocolate, a large painted gourd vessel in which the hands were washed, richly designed drinking vessels; [there were] large food baskets, sauce dishes, polished dishes, and wooden dishes.

injc motecaia cacaoatl, tecontlacujlolli, atzacaiotl tlacujlolli, aquaujtl aiotectli tlacujlolli, poctecomatl anaoacaiotl, atzacaiotl aiotectli, aiaoalli oçelocoatl, cuetlaxaiaoalli, chitatli in vncan mopia tecomatl, atzetzeloaztli, injc moiectia cacaoatl, vevei tecomatl achioalonj, vevej tlacujlolxicalli injc nematequjlo, tzohoacalli tlaioalonj, tlaqualchiqujujtl, molcaxitl, petzcaxitl, quauhcaxitl.

Fourteenth Chapter: here are described the palace and the houses of the lords: how were kept the houses of the lords [and] the great palace where the ruler dwelt; [how] all the lords[1] were disposed there, and there were determined the tributes or warfare; and in that place there was eating and drinking when the ruler assembled the people there.

FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is described the court of justice, the high court, [in which], when something was harmed, when some did evil, there they passed judgment on them.

Tlacxitlan:[2] there were the rulers, the princes, and the high judges. All the complaints of the lower classes and common folk they there heard and judged. And all death [sentences] they there meted out; either they would strangle one with a cord, or stone him to death, or slay him under wooden staves,[3] beaten; or some nobleman or judge was to be shaven [as a disgrace], or driven [out of the land], or confined, or made a commoner; or one would be seized and jailed in a wooden cage.[4] And there they delivered slaves from [undeserved] bondage.

[When] Moctezuma was lord, there was famine for two years, and many noblemen sold their young sons and maidens. When Moctezuma heard of this, he commanded that all [these] noble youths be brought together, and that their masters be told that their goods [which they had paid for them] were to be restored and returned to them. With large capes and mantles, and dried maize grains he paid the price for the noblemen. And a double forfeit he then paid in order to redeem and deliver the noblemen from bondage.

In that place, the Tlacxitlan, they did not delay the hearings. At once, forthwith, a judgment was pro-

Injc 14. capitulo vncan mjtoa in tecpancalli in tla- 000
tocacalli, ic mopia tlatocacalli, vej tecpan in vncan ca
tlatoanj, ixqujch tlacatl vncan tecpanoa, vncan mo-
tzontequj in tlein tequjtl, anoçe iauiotl: ioan vncan
atlioa tlaqualo, injc vnca tecenqujxtia tlatoanj.

INJC CE PARRAPHO ipan mjtoa in vncã tlato- 692
loia, in audiençia in jquac itla itlacauija, in aqujque
tlatlacoa, vncan qujntlatzontequjliaia.

Tlacxitlan, vncan catca tlatoque tlaçopipilti, tecu- 693
tlatoque: in ixqujch tlamantli in jneteilhujl cujtla- 696
pilli atlapalli maçeoalli: vnca qujcaqujliaia, vncan
qujtlatzontequjliaia; ioan ixqujch tlamantli mjqujz-
tli vncan qujtzontequja aço aca quimecanjzque,
anoço aca qujtetepachozque, anoço aca quauhtica
mjqujz qujujujtequjzque, anoço aca pilli, anoço
tecutlato, ximaloz, totocoz, callaliloz, maceoalcuepa-
loz, anoço aca ilpiloz quauhcalco tlaliloz: ioan vncan
qujntlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti.

Tlatocati in motecuçuma, oxiujtl in maianaloc, in 731
pipilti mjiequjntin, in qujnnamacaque in jntelpuch- 567
oan, ioan in jmjchpuchoan, in jcoac in oqujcac mote- 643
cuçuma: tlanaoati injc nechicolozque, in ixqujchtin
tlaçotipipilti, ioan notzalozque in jntecujioboan, injc
macozque, injc cuepililozque in jntlatquj. Veuej til-
matli, ioan quachtli, ioan tlaolli, injc qujmpatiotica
pipilti, ioã oppemjxtlapan injc qujntlaxtlaujli, injc
qujntlatlacollaz pipilti.

In oncan jn tlacxitlan amo tle vecaoaia in neteil- 692
hujlli, çan njman iciuhca motzontequja, in tlein 695

---

[1] Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., III, pp. 22-23: "*Este nombre, tlácatl, quiere decir, persona noble, generosa o magnífica. . . . Y los compuestos de tlácatl que se componen con nombres numerales, significan persona grande, como diciendo ce tlácatl, una persona hombre, o mujer.*" Also cf. Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Gliederung des Alt-Aztekischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf, aus dem Aztekischen Urtext Bernardino de Sahagun's* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 32.

[2] Clark, op. cit., I, p. 97, defines the term as the highest criminal court, meaning "those placed below, at the feet."

[3] See Pl. 66.

[4] See Pls. 67, 87.

Seventeenth Chapter, in which are told the exercises of the rulers and how they might perform well their office and their government.

FIRST PARAGRAPH, where is told, as well, the ordering of those sent when war was waged.

The ruler was known as the lord of men. His charge was war. Hence, he determined, disposed, and arranged how war would be made.

First he commanded masters of the youths and seasoned warriors to scan the [enemy] city and to study all the roads—where [they were] difficult, where entry could be made through them. This done, the ruler first determined, by means of a painted [plan], how was placed the city which they were to destroy. Then the chief noted all the roads—where [they were] difficult, and in what places entry could be made.

Then he summoned the general and the commanding general, and the brave warriors, and he commanded them how they were to take the road, what places the warriors were to enter, for how many days they would march, and how they would arrange the battle. And he commanded that these would announce war and send forth all the men dexterous in war to be arrayed, and to be supplied with provisions for war and insignia.

The ruler then consulted with all the majordomos—the men of the Petlacalco[1] and of the Aztacalco, the majordomos of Quauhnauac and Uaxtepec, and [those] of Cuetlaxtlan, Tochpan, Tziuhcoac, Tepequacuilco, Uapan, Coatlixtlauacan, Tlappan, Tlachco, Matlatzinco, Ocuillan, Xilotepec, Atotonilco, Axocopan, Itzcuincuitlapilco, Atocpan, and Ayotzintepec. He ordered them to take out all their [goods held in] storage, the tributes, costly articles—insignia of gold, and with quetzal feathers, and all the shields of great price.

And when the majordomos had delivered all the costly devices, the ruler then adorned and presented with insignia all the princes who were already able in war, and all the brave warriors, the men [at arms],

643 ● Injc caxtolli omome cap°, vncan mjtoa in jnneiehecoliz in tlatoque: in quenjn vel qujchioazque intequjuh, in jntlatocaio.

643 701 INJC CE PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, ioan in tlatecpanaliztli, in qujtitlanja injc iauqujçaia.

In tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, motocaiotia: itequjuh catca, in iauiotl, injc ichoatl qujtzontequj, qujtecpana, qujçencahoa, in quenjn mochioaz iauiotl:

643 723 [102] achto qujnaoatia in tiachcahoan, in tequjoaque, in connemjlia altepetl, in conjtta, in quezquj vtli, in campa oujca, in campa ic calacoaz, in ie iuhquj achto oqujnemjli in tlatoanj, tlapallacujlolpan omotlali: in altepetl, in poliujz, ic onjtztica in tlatoanj in izqui vtli, in campa oujcan, quezqujcan in calacoaz.

Niman ic qujoalnotza: in tlacuchcalcatl, in tlacateccatl, in tiacahoan qujnnaoatia, in iuh teumacazque in quezqujcan calaqujz iauqujzquj, in quezquilhujtl monenemiz, in quenjn iautecoz: ioan qujnnaoatia, injc ichoantin, iautlatozque qujnnaoatizque: in jxqujch in quauhtloçelotl, injc mochichioaz, injc moçencaoaz: in jca iauitacatl, ioã tlaujztli.

643 714 Auh in ichoatl tlatoanj: njman qujnnonotza in jxqujchtin calpixque, petlacalcatl, aztacalcatl: quauhnaoac calpixquj, oaxtepec calpixquj, cuetlaxtecatl: tochpanecatl: tziuhcoacatl, tepequacujlcatl, hoappanecatl, coaixtlaoacatl, tlappanecatl, tlachcotecatl, matlatzincatl, ocujltecatl, xilotepecatl, atotonjlcatl, axocopanecatl, itzcujncujtlapilcatl, atocpanecatl, aiotzintepecatl, qujnnaoatia, injc qujoalcujzque, in jxqujch in jnpiel, in tlacalaqujlli, in tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli in coztic teucujtlaio, in quetzallo: in jxqujch tlaçochimalli.

643 701 Auh in jcoac oqujoalitqujque in calpixque: in jxqujch tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli: iiehoatl tlatoanj, njman qujcencaoa qujntlaujzmaca in jxqujchtin tlaçopipiltin, in ie imjxco ca iautiliztli: ioan in jxqujchtin

---

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 99; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, I, p. 166; II, p. 311.

● 643 701 the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the Otomí, and the noblemen who dwelt in the young men's houses.

721 And when it had come to pass that the ruler adorned them, when he had done this to the brave warriors, then the ruler ordered all the majordomos to bear their goods, all the costly devices, and all the valuable capes there to battle, that the ruler might offer and endow with favors all the [other] rulers, and the noblemen, and the brave warriors, the men [at arms] who were about to go to war, who were to be extended as if made into a wall of men dexterous with arms. And the ruler forthwith called upon the rulers of Texcoco and Tlacopan and the rulers in all the swamp lands, and notified them to proclaim war in order to destroy a [certain] city. He presented them all with costly capes, and he gave them all insignia of great price. Then he also ordered the common folk[2] to rise to go forth to war. Before them would go marching the brave warriors, the men [at arms], the lord general, and the commanding general.

726 The lords of the sun, it was said, took charge and directed in war. All the priests, the keepers of the gods, took the lead; they bore their gods upon their backs, and, by the space of one day, marched ahead of all the brave warriors and the seasoned warriors. These also marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tenochtitlan. Again these marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tlatilulco. These also marched one day ahead of all the men of Acolhuacan, who likewise marched one day ahead of all the Tepaneca, who similarly marched one day ahead of the men of Xilotepec; and these also marched one day ahead of all the so-called Quaquata. In like manner the [men of] other cities were disposed. They followed the road slowly and carefully.

And when the warlike lands[3] were reached, the brave warrior generals and commanding generals then showed the others the way and arranged them [687] in order. No one might break ranks or crowd in among the others; they would then and there slay or beat whoever would bring confusion or crowd in among the others. All the warriors were extended there, until the moment that Yacauitztli, [god of] the night, would descend—that darkness would fall.

tiacahoan, in oqujchtin, in tequjoaque, in quaquachicti, in otomj: ioan in telpuchnemj in pipilti.

auh in ie iuhquj, in otecencauh tlatoanj, in tiacauh, in iuh oqujchiuh. Niman qujnnaoatia, in tlatoanj: in jxqujchtin calpixque, injc intlatquj ietiaz; in jxqujch tlaçotlanquj, tlaujztli: ioan in jxqujch tlaçotilmatli, in vmpa iauc, in qujnmacaz, in qujntlauhtiz, in tlatoanj: In jxqujchtin tlatoque, ioan in pipilti, ioan in tiacahoan, in oqujchtin in iauteoatoque, in iuhquj oçelotenanti, quauhtenanti mochiuhtoque: ioan in tlatoanj, achto qujnnotza in tlatoanj tetzcuco, ioan tlacopan: ioan in jxqujch chinanpanecatl in tlatoque, qujncaqujtia, injc iautlatoa, injc poliujz ce altepetl: qujntlauhtia, in jxqujch tlaçotilmatli, ioan qujnmaca, in jxqujch tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli. Niman no ic qujnnaoatia: in jxqujch in jmaçeoal, injc iauqujçatiuh: impan hicatiuj in tiacaoan, in oqujchtin, in tlacochcalcatl tecutli, ioan tlacateccatl,

tonatiuh itlatocahoan mjtoaia, qujiacana in qujujca iauc, iacattiuj in ixqujchtin tlamacazque, in teupixque, qujnmama in jntevoan cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in ixqujchtin tiacahoan, in tequjoaque, no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxqujch iauqujzquj in tenochcatl; no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxqujch iauqujzquj tlatilulcatl: no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxqujch aculhoacatl: no cemjlhujtl qujtztiuj, in jxqujch tepanecatl, no cemjlhujtl qujtztiuj, ixilotepecatl: no cemjlhujtl q'mjtztiuj, in jxqujch moquatoitoa: çan no iuj in oc cequj altepetl, motetecpana, iujian, iocuxca, in otlatoca.

Auh in jcoac, oaxioac teuatenpan, tlachinoltempan, in iehoantin tiacaoan tlatlacochcalca, tlatlacateca njman teumaca, tetecpana, aiac vel tepanauja, aiac vel tetlan qujça, çan njman vncã qujnmjctia, qujnujujtequj, in aqujn tlaixneloznequj: tetlan qujçaznequj, in oommoten ixqujch iauqujzquj, in ie inman in oalhuetz acaujztli, in tlaioalli injc tlaiooalcujoaz: auh in jcoac ie itech nequetzaloz, in altepetl poliujz, achto oc cenca mochiiia in tletl, in quenman cue-

---

[2] The corresponding Spanish passage reads: "Mandaua luego, a los calpixques, que lleuassen armas, a todos los principales, para si, y para sus soldados: y entonces lo notificaua a su gente, y les dauan armas."

[3] Teuatenpan, tlachinoltempan: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, p. 103 (lugares para la guerra señalados), and p. 105 (los lugares de las batallas).

728 which was there made. And likewise, forthwith a
651 steward was placed in office, who would watch over
and levy the tribute.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is described
●643 how they chose judges.

The ruler watched especially over the trials; he
693 heard all the accusations and the complaints, the
565 afflictions, and the misery of the common folk, the
orphans, the poor, and the vassals.

And in order that the ruler might verify one's accusations and guilt, there were placed in office, and [the ruler] chose, as his judges,[5] the princes, those who were endowed with the necessities of life, those provided with drink and food—the rich; and the brave warriors and men [at arms], who had been reared in war and had gloried in all kinds of suffering and misery. In all things had their upbringing, their rearing, been sound. In their infancy they had been taught [according to] the upbringing in the priests' house, or the rearing by the masters of the youths, growing up with others, living in the [same] houses as others, engaging in war, taking captives.

And likewise the ruler thus chose and placed in office judges of the Mexicans who were not noblemen—those of sound and righteous upbringing, who had been reared in war: brave warriors and men [at arms] who in many ways had won glory by the favor of the ruler. By his grace they drank and ate. He gave them contentment and he gave them gifts; he bestowed upon them whatsoever they needed.

Such as these the ruler gave office and chose as his
[577] judges—the wise, the able, the sage; who listened
and spoke well; who were of good memory; who
spoke not vainly nor lightly; who did not make
friends without forethought nor were drunkards;
who guarded their lineage with honor; who slept
not overmuch, [but rather] arose early; who did
nothing for friendship's or kinship's sake, nor for
enmity; who would not hear nor judge a case for
[681] a fee. The ruler might condemn them to death;
hence they performed their offices as judges righteously. For otherwise, these judges could find excuse
for the wrongs which they might do.

And when the ruler placed his judges in office, he gave them two court rooms, the Teccalli, where they

tzalo in calpixquj, in qujmocujtlaujz, in jpan tlatoa in tlacalaqujlli.

INJC VME PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnpepenaia Iuezes.

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia in tetlatzontequjliliztli, qujcaquja in jxqujch in jneteilhujl: ioan in jchoqujz, in jnentlamachiliz in jnetolinjliz in cujtlapilli, atlapalli in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja in maçeoalli:

auh injc uel qujneltiliaia in tlatoanj in teneteilhujl anoço tetlatlacul qujmjxquetzaia, qujnpepenaia in jtecutlatocahoan: iehoantin in tlaçopipilti, in tlaiecultilo in oncã in qujnj, in qujquanj, in mocujltonoa, ioan tiacaoan, oqujchti, in iauc omozcaltique, mjiec tlamãtli tecoco netolinjliztli, oqujmaujçoque: auh in jxquj tlamantlj qualli neoapaoaliztli, nezcaltiliztli, in jnpiltian oqujmomachtique, in calmecac neoapaoaliztli, in tiachcapa neoapaoaliztli, in tetlan neoapaoaliztli, in calpan tetlan nemjliztli, iauqujçaliztli, tlamaliztli.

Auh çan no iuhq̃ñj, injc qujnpepenaia tlatoanj, inic qujmjxquetzaia in tecutlatoque, in mexica, in amo pipilti iehoantin in qualli iectli, inneoapaoaliz, innezcaltiliz, in iauc omooapaoaltique, in tiacahoan in oqujchti, in mjiec tlamantli oqujmaujçoque, iteicneliliz tlatoanj, in jpal atli, tlaqua, in qujnpaqujltia, in qujntlauhtia, ioan in qujnmaca, in jxqujch intech monequj:

iuhque in in qujmjxquetzaia, in qujnpepenaia tlatoanj, in jtecutlatocahoan, in mjmatinj, in mozcalianj, in tlanemjlianj, in vellacaquj, in vellatoa, in motlaiollotianj, in amo ahaujllatoa, in amo cacamanaloa, in amo iliujz moocnjuhtia, amo tlaoananj, cenca qujmaujzpia in tecuiotl, amo cochinj, cenca cochiçanj amo tle qujcnjuhchioa: amo tle qujoaiolcachioa: amo tle qujtecocolicachioa, amo tlaxtlaujltica qujcaquj, anoço qujtzontequj: qujmjqujznaoatiaia, in tlatoanj: injc melaoac qujchioazque in jntequjuh, in tecutlatolli: auh intlacamo, ca iehoantin conmotzacujlitiazque in tecutlatoque, in tlein qujtlacozque.

Auh in jcuac, oqujmjxquetz in tlatoanj: in jtecutlatocahoan qujnmacaia vmetl in tlatocacalli, in tec-

---

5. [illegible] cf. *ibid.*, p. 118 ([illegible]) and p. 121 ([illegible]).

were to remain, to make judgments, and to hear all manner of testimony.

The name of one Teccalli was Tlacxitlan. There they tried princes and great lords. At once, swiftly, they passed judgment on their complaints or wrong doing.

And the second place where justice was done was named Teccalli. There were the Mexican judges. Sagely they heard the complaints of the common folk. They defined and verified the complaint, they recorded it in paintings so that they might take it there to Tlacxitlan, where they informed the judges who were princes; so that there judgment might be pronounced.

And if something was difficult, they took it to the ruler so that he might judge it [with] those judges[6] whose names were Ciuacoatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Ticociauacatl, Pochtecatlailotlac, Ezuauacatl,[7] Mexicatl tezcacoacatl, Acatliacapanecatl, Milnauatl, Atlauhcatl, Ticociauacatl, Ciuatecpanecatl, and Tequixquinaoacatl. These same judges meditated and pondered upon, and examined, the testimony. They sought out the witnesses, those who bore testimony. Perchance [the charge] was true; or else that which the ruler had heard was false, so that, perhaps, by error[8] someone had been held in jail.

And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhti,[9] the Quauhnochtli, and the Atempanecatl. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer, or they stoned him before the people, or they cut him to pieces.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described how all were to dance.

The ruler was greatly concerned with the dance, the rejoicing, in order to hearten and console all the peers, the lords, the noblemen, the brave warriors, and all the common folk and vassals.

First the ruler announced what song should be intoned. He commanded the singers to rehearse and practise the song and [to prepare] the two-toned

calli, in vncan iezque, in vncã tetlatzontequjlizque, 643
in vncan qujcaqujzque in jxqujch tlamãtli tlacatla- 693
tolli,

in centetl teccalli, itoca tlacxitlan, in vncã tetlatzon- 565
tequjliaia tlaçopipilti, tlatocapipilti, çan njman içiuh- [344]
ca qujtzontequja inteneteilhujl, anoço tetlatlacul.

Auh injc vccan tecutlatoloia, itoca teccalli, vncan 693
catca in tecutlatoque mexica: iujian iocuxca qujca- [344]
quja, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in oqujchi- 565
pauhque, in oqujiectilique neteilhujlli, tlapallacujlol- 695
pan qujtlalia, injc vmpa qujtquj tlacxitlan in jpã [212]
qujntlapoujlia in tecutlatoque in tlaçopipilti, injc
vmpa motzontequj.

Auh intla itla oujlitica iujc qujtquj in tlatoanj injc 695
ichoanti qujtzontequj in jntoca catca tecutlatoque. 643
Çioacoatl tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, ticoçiaoa-
catl, pochteca tlailotlac, ezoaoacatl, mexicatl tezca-
coacatl, acatliacapanecatl, mjlnaoatl, atlauhcatl, ti-
cociaoacatl, çioatecpanecatl, tequjxqujnaoacatl, ie-
hoantin, y, in tecutlatoque qujnemjliaia, qujchiquja,
qujpetlaoaia in tlacatlatolli, qujntemoaia in machice-
que, in tlaneltilianj, in aço ie nelli, anoço tlatolchi-
chioalli in caqujtilo tlatoanj, in aço can tlapic aca
quauhcalco otlaliloc.

Auh intla aca qujtlatzontequjlia tlatoanj mjqujz, 693
njman qujmjctia, in jtemjcticaoan achcacauhti, 696
quauhnochtli, atempanecatl: injc iehoantin qujmjc-
tia, qujmecanja in tlatlacoanj, anoço teixpan qujtete-
pachoa, anoço qujtetequj.

INJC EI PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa in quenjn 535
netotiloa.

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia, in maçeoa- 643
liztli, in papaqujliztli, injc qujmellaquaoa, injc qujn-
iollalia, in jxqujchtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, ioan
tetecuti, ioan tiacahoan: ioan in jxqujch in cujtlapilli,
atlapalli, in maçeoalli:

achtopa qujtoaia in tlatoanj, in tlein cujcatl meoaz, 643
qujnnaoatiaia in cujcanjme: injc qujiehecoque injc 533
qujchicaoaque in cujcatl, ioan teponaztli, olmaitl, 534

---

[6] The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y las cosas, muy dificultosas, y graves, llevavanlas al señor: para que las sentenciasse juntamente con treze principales, muy calificados, que con el andavan, y residian."

[7] After the word pochtecatlailotlac, the Real Academia de la Historia MS includes [illegible]; [illegible] appears as [illegible]. The title Ticociauacatl is repeated in the Aztec text of the Florentine Codex.

[8] Can tlapic: çan is probably meant (cf. ibid.).

[9] Achcacauhti: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., I, pp. 166, 291, 293; II, pp. 318, 321; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 100, and III, p. 53.

643 533 534 drums, the rubber drum hammers, and the ground drums, and all the properties used in the dance. And [he appointed the kind of] dance, him who would give the pitch, those who would lead, him who would beat the two-toned drum, him who would play the ground drum. All was first arranged, so that nothing would be left out.

643 535 292 301 And when there was a dance, the ruler [decided] the day. At this time, he adorned and arrayed himself, [in his] head band with sprays of quetzal feathers and gold, with which he bound his hair; a yellow labret, or a green stone lip plug, which he inserted in his [lower] lip; golden ear plugs, which he inserted in [the lobes of] his ears; and he laid on a neck band, either a neck band of green stone or a collar with turquoise inserted; he placed on his wrist a bracelet with a large green stone upon it, or a large turquoise; or a golden arm band; and a quetzal feather fan. With [these] costly goods he went in procession and danced. With a priceless cape he covered and wrapped himself, and in a costly breech clout he girt himself.

565 535 Then also they arrayed and accorded favors to all the lords, and noblemen, the men [at arms], brave warriors, and the high judges, and the [lesser] judges; and brave warriors, men [at arms], and masters of the youths, and singers. And the ruler gave them drink and food, all the things which have been mentioned.

687 And if the singers did something amiss—perchance a two-toned drum was out of tune, or a ground drum; or he who intoned, marred the song; or the leader marred the dance—then the ruler commanded that they place in jail whoever had done the wrong; they imprisoned him, and he died.

643 726 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how he who was the ruler kept vigil; how he kept guard at night and all day, because of war.

The ruler was especially concerned with the keeping of watch against enemies and the guarding of the city, all day and all night. Hence he gave stern commands that guard should be kept faithfully. For at times, suddenly, the City of Mexico was circled by foes; perchance somewhere for this they were gathered together, and were laying a snare. Therefore the ruler kept careful vigil. He did not become besotted. He himself sometimes set forth by night, circled the city, and beheld what was done: perhaps the priest

veuetl: ioan in ixqujch maçeoallatqujtl, ioan netotiliztli, aqujn cujcaitoz, aqujque in teiacanazque, aqujn teponaçoz, aqujn veuetzonaz, mochi achto mocencaoaia injc atle itlacaujz.

Auh in ie icoac maçeoa tlatoanj, in tlein ilhujtl ipan mocencaoa, mochichioa quetzallalpilonj coztic teucujtlaio, injc qujlpia itzon, coztic teçacatl, anoço chalchiuhtentetl in conaquja itenco, coztic teucujtlanacochtli, in caquja inacazco: auh in cozcatl conteca, aço chalchiuhcozcatl, anoço cozcapetlatl, teuxiujtl itlaactoc, macuéxtli imac qujtlalia vei chalchiujtl ipan ca anoço vej teuxiujtl, anoço coztic teucujtlamatemecatl, quetzalecaceoaztli, tlaçotlanquj injc mjtotia injc maceoa, tlaçotilmatli in qujmololoa, in qujmoquentia, tlaçomaxtlatl in qujmomaxtlatia,

njman ic no qujcencaoa qujntlauhtia: in ixqujchtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, in oqujchti, tiiacaoan, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tiiacaoan oqujchtin, ioan tiachcaoan, ioan cujcanjme, ioan qujnmaca in jiauh, in jtlaqual tlatoanj in jxqujtlamantin omoteneuhque.

Auh intla itla qujtlacoa cujcanjme: aço teponaztli qujchalanja, anoço veuetl, anoço cujcaitoa, qujpoloa cujcatl: anoço teiacana, in qujpoloa netotiliztli: njman tlanaoatia in tlátoanj, quauhcalco contlalia in aqujn tlatlacoa, qujtzacutiuh mjquja.

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO: vncã mjtoa injc ixtoçoaia in aqujn tlatoanj, injc tlapiaia in ioaltica: ioan in cemjlhujtl in jpãpa iauiotl.

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia in iautlapializtli, ioan altepepializtli, cemjlhujtl ceioal, ic tlatlaquauhnaoatiaia, injc cenca tlapialoz ma quenmanjan atenemachpan iauiaoalolo in altepetl mexico, aço cana ica necentlalilo, tlachichiujlilo, ipampa cenca ixtoçoaia in tlatoanj, amo tlaoanaia, iioma in iohoaltica quenmanjan qujçaia qujiaoaloa in altepetl qujtta tlein muchioa, acaçomo tlapia in tlamacazquj in tiachcauh aço ie necujtlaujlo in mjxitl in tlapatl in octli ioan oc cenca qujntlaquauhnaoatiaia in tlatoanj

or the master of the youths were not keeping watch, having already become addlepated.[10] And the ruler most sternly commanded that all the seasoned warriors and lords keep watch all day and all night in warlike lands and be concerned to be a rampart of men dexterous at arms in enemy paths. And they were to apprehend and seize informers who had entered here in secret, who walked about the city. And they perceived when war was to be proclaimed. And when war already was declared, then they hastened to enter [their city] to warn their lords so that then they would ready themselves for guarding against the foe.

And if informers[11] were seized, they were slain; they were beaten, because of what they made known. And if it were noted that some knew the Mexicans and were living with them in their homes, they also imprisoned the informers of the ruler's foes, with the householders who had been plotting with them, and their children, and plundered their goods, so that nothing[12] was to be seen in their homes.

And likewise the ruler urged strongly that watch be kept within the city, all day and all night, lest someone betray the city, lest it might be surrounded by enemies. And therefore sometimes the ruler and the city would march forth. And the ruler commanded that rulers of the youths, the brave warriors, and all the youths, each day, at night, should sing and dance, so that all the cities which lay around Mexico should hear. For the ruler slept not, nor any of the Mexicans.

And when it was deep night, then the priests of Tenochtitlan and of Tlatilulco, and [men from] all the hamlets [nearby], blew shell trumpets and beat two-toned drums. Then all the priests went forth. Everywhere they performed penances all about the mountain tops. And thus they kept watch lest they come upon something. [When] already it grew light, they went into [the city]. Thus they kept guard each night; thus did they do.

in jxquichtin iauteoaque in tlatoque icemjlhujtl 643
içeiooal tlapiazque, in teuatenpan in tlachinoltempã, 726
in qujmocujtlaujzque ocelotenamjtl, quauhtenamjtl,
in iauotli: ioan qujmanazque qujnitzitzqujzque in
tetlan nenque in ichtaca oalcalaquj in qujoalnemilia
altepetl, ioan oallapia in jqujn iautlatoloz, auh in
oqujcacque ca ie iautlatolo: njman calactiuetzi in
connonotza intlatocauh inic njman no moçencaoa
iautlapializtica.

Auh intla ano tetlanenque, mjctilo, tetzotzonalo 687
inca nenonotzalo. Auh intla macho, ca acame quj-
mati in mexica in inchan oalmocallotia, in tetlanen-
que in jiaohoan no qujtzacutiuja, inca nenonotzaloia
in chaneque, ioã in jnpilhoan, ioan namoieloia in
intlatquj atl neneçia in inchan.

Auh çan no iuhquj cenca ipan tlatoaia in tlatoanj 643
injc cenca tlapialoz in jitic altepetl, icemjlhujtl, 726
çeioal, in ma aca qujtlachichiujli altepetl, in ma
iauiaoalolo quenmanjan, auh injc icatiaz tlatoanj, 722
ioan altepetl qujnnaoatiaia in tlatoanj in telpuchtla-
toque, in tiacahoan: ioan in ixqujch telpuchtli, injc [533]
momoztlae ioaltica cujcoanozque, injc qujoalcaqujz
ixqujch altepetl, in qujiaoalotoc mexico: ca amo
cochi in tlatoanj, ioan ixqujch mexicatl.

Auh in jquac tlaquauhtlapoiaoa: njman tlapitza, 722
ioan teponaçohoa, in tlamacazque tenochca, ioan
tlatilulca: ioan ixqujch altepemaitl, icoac qujça in
jxqujchtin tlamacazque, noujian in ontlamaçeoa
noujian tepeticpac, ioan ic ontlapia in aço itla quj-
namjqujtiuj ie tlatujnaoac ÿ oalcalaquja injc ontla-
piaia çeçeioal iuh qujchioaia.

---

[10] Simeón, op. cit., identifies *mixitl* as an intoxicating plant, and *tlapatl* as *Ricinus communis*, a medicinal plant. Olmos, op. cit., p. 223, has, for *Hazer a otro [illegible], o dar mal consejo*: *Mixitl, tlapatl, [illegible], [illegible]* . . .; for *Emborrachar, o sacar de seso*: *Yuh [illegible] in octli, in [illegible], in mixitl, in [illegible] inic [illegible], inic [illegible]*. In Lib. VI, fol. 209r, of the *Florentine Codex*, this passage appears: "In [illegible], in [illegible]: in [illegible] mixitl, in [illegible] tlapatl [illegible]. [illegible]: in [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]: [illegible] [illegible], in [illegible] [illegible]: [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible]: in [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] in [illegible]." The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Esta letra quiere decir. Andar [illegible] y dando palmadas en el pecho como hombre que a comido beleños. Por metaphora se dize: de aquel que siendo travieso y desbaratado en su vivir, siendo corregido, no se quiere enmendar: y a este tal diziendo que se beuido que se comido que ninguna bien [illegible] [illegible] la [illegible].*"

[11] *Tetlan nenque*: sentinels, according to Simeón, op. cit. *Tetlanenenqui*, however, in Molina, op. cit., is translated as *chismero* or *malsin* (gossip, talebearer; hence, possibly, informer).

[12] *Atl*: probably *atle* is meant.

342 643 [373] 644 722 And in the great palace, the ruler's residence, likewise was watch kept all night. Never did the fire go out. It was watched all night and made to burn with pine torches there in the residence of the ruler—at the Tlacxitlan, and the Teccalli, and the Tecpilcalli, the Quauhcalli, the Achcauhcalli, the Cuicacalli, the Coacalli, and the residences of the lords throughout the city, and the priests' houses, and the majordomos' houses—where assembled the majordomos,—and the young men's houses which were placed in all the neighborhoods.[13] Then the youths filled the houses as they kept guard. None slept in his [own] home. [373] The task of the youths was to go into the forest, in order that watch be kept within the city; for nightly there was light and fires were burned; thus was guard maintained.

643 542 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the ruler was amused.

The ruler, when he beheld and knew that the common folk and vassals were very fretful, then commanded that the ball game be played, in order to animate the people and divert them. He commanded the majordomos to take out the rubber ball, and the girdles, and the leather hip guards, and the leather gloves with which the ruler's ball players were dressed and arrayed. And things were arranged on the ball court; there was sprinkling, there was sanding, there was sweeping.

643 525 And all which the ruler was to wager in the game —the valued capes, the duck feather capes, the costly breech clouts, the green stone lip plugs, the golden ear plugs, the green stone necklaces, the golden necklaces, the wrist bands with large, precious,[14] green stones upon them, and all the precious capes and bedding—the majordomos brought out and placed in the ball court. And those who were to challenge and play ball against the ruler then matched all his costly goods. And all the poor folk placed [for] the ruler, each one, old capes like those which the vassals wore. And if they won from the ruler, then the majordomos brought out others and laid out all the costly goods which they had won of the ruler, and also they gave to the vassals all which they had won of the ruler.

Auh in vei tecpan in tlatoca, çan no iuhquj ceioal in tlapialoia, aquenman ceuja in tletl: çeioal in tlapialoia, ioan tlaujloia ocotica, in vncan iician tlatoanj, ioan tlacxitlan, ioan teccali, ioã tecpilcalli, quauhcali, achcauhcali, cujcacali, ioan coacali, in jntenetlaliaian tlatoque altepetl ipan, ioan calmecac, ioan texãcali in jnneçenquixtiaia calpixque, ioan telpuchcali, in noujian tlãtlãxilacalpan mamanj: vncã icacaltemj in telpupuchti in tlapia, aiac ichan oncochia, intequjuh catca in telpopochti, in quauhtla ializtli, injc tlapieloia iitic altepetl injc çeçeioal tlaujloia tlatlatiloia, injc tlapieloia.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: ipan mitoa, in quenjn mellelquixtiaia, tlatoanj.

In tlatoanj in jcoac qujttaia, qujmatia ca cenca nentlamati in cujtlapilli, atlapalli maceoalli: njman tlanaoatiaia, injc ollamaloz, injc teellaquaoaia, injc tepaqujltiaia tlatoanj: qujnnaoatiaia in calpixque, injc qujoalcujzque in olli, ioan nelpilonj, ioan queçeoatl, ioan maieoatl: injc mocencaoa injc mochichioa, in jollancaoan tlatoanj, ioan tlacencaoalo in tlachco, tlaaujlilo, tlaxalhujlo, tlachpano:

ioan in jxqujch qujtlanjtoz tlatoanj, in tlaçoqilmatli in xomoiujtilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in chalchiuhtentetl, teucujtlanacochtli, chalchiuhcozcatl, teucujtlacozcatl, matzopetztli chalchiujtl vei ipan ca, tlaçotl: ioan in ixqujch tlaçotilmatli, ioan pepechtli qujoalqujxtia in calpixque, qujoallalia in tlachco. Auh in ichoantin qujnamjqujzque, in collamjzque tlatoanj: njman jq'tlamjctia, in jxqujch itlatquj tlaçotli: auh in ie ix motolinja maceoalli, iceceiaca contlalia tlatoanj ica iiaiaçol in iuhquj qujqueinj maçeoalli. Auh intla oqujtlanque tlatoanj, njman tepatla, in calpixque qujtema in ixqujch tlaçotli tlatqujtl, in oqujtlanjlique tlatoanj: auh in maceoalti no qujnmaca in jxqujch oqujtlanilique tlatoanj.

---

[13] *Tlatlaxilacalpan*: see Arturo Monzón: *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochca* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 51, where the term *tlaxilacalli* is defined as a small *barrio* or street. According to Orozco y Berra, op. cit., I, p. 369, "*los pueblos quedaron subdivididos en* [illegible] *calpulli ó barrios,* [illegible] *las parcialidades* [illegible], *cada calpulli dividido por calles ó tlaxilacalli.*"

[14] *Tlaçotl*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to [illegible], in which case the Aztec should read [illegible].

When he wished to be amused, the ruler commanded that they play *patolli*, that a mat on which *patolli* was played be painted black, in widely spaced stripes. So was it painted that there might be kept the count whereby the game could be won. And then also holes were drilled into the surfaces of four large beans with which *patolli* was played and the game was won. And in the same way the majordomos did [as in the ball game]:[15] they spread out all the costly goods and belongings of the ruler, there where *patolli* was played, where [players] represented the ruler. And then, if the ruler were beaten, then the majordomos brought out other [players]; and they changed all the vassals whom the ruler had set in place that *patolli* be played.

SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the ruler who was good of heart and kindly.

The ruler was very indulgent of others, very merciful, and kindly. When he wished, he set forth along the road, following it. If any poor vassal, who made bold to hail the ruler, greeted him pleasingly, then *[the ruler] commanded the majordomo to give him* a cape, a breech clout, and a place for him to sleep, and that which he might drink, and eat—dried grains of maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if a lowly woman made bold to greet the ruler, he likewise granted and accorded her her shift, her skirt, a place for her to sleep, what she might drink and eat—grains of dried maize, beans, amaranth seed. And if some poor indigent were to fashion or make so many skin drums, or a song of honor, if then he dedicated them to the ruler, if he gave them [to him, the ruler] showed great compassion and indulged him; he gave him a house, he enriched him; he gave him whatsoever goods lay in the house; and he gave him a steward who daily might care for him, give him to eat, provide him his breakfast, wherewith to break his fast, and provide him wherewith to sup. And he gave him all [manner of] gifts—costly capes, beds, wealth, women, and a slave, and honor.

In tlatoanj, in jquac qujnequjá iiellelqujçaz tlana- 643
oatiaia injc patoz, mjcujloa ce patolpetlatl, ica tlilli, 522
papatlactic in tlaxotlalli ic mjcujloa, in vncan nepoalo 525
ic netlanjoa: auh njman no mjxcoionja nauhtetl 524
aiecotli, injc patolo, injc netlanjoa: auh çan ic no iuhquj qujcnioaia in calpixque, injc mochi tlaçotli in jtlatquj, in jaxca tlatoanj, qujoalteca in oncan patoloian, in qujtetlanitalhuja in tlatoanj, auh in icoac, intla otlanjhoac tlatoanj, njman tepatla in calpixque: ioan qujpatla in jxqujchtin maçeoalti, in ocontlalica tlatoanj in patoloia.

INJC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, 643
in aqujn tlatoanj qualli iiollo, teicnoittanj. 431

In tlatoanj, cenca tetlaoculianj, cenca teicnoittanj, ioan teicnelianj, in jcoac qujnequja, qujçaz in otli qujtocaz: in aqujn motolinja maçeoalli, in motlapaloa, injc qujtlapaloz tlatoanj, intla ouelqujtlapalo in tlatoanj: *njman qujnaoatia in calpixquj, qujmacaz* tilmatli, maxtlatl, ioan icochia, ioan in quja, in qujquaz, tlaolli, etl, oauhtli. Auh intla motolinjanj çioatl motlapaloz qujtlapaloz tlatoanj, çan no iuh qujcnelia, qujtlauhtia in jujpil, in jcue, icochia, in quiz, in qujquaz tlaolli, etl, oauhtli. Auh intla aca motolinja, icnotlacatl, oqujchiuh, oqujtlali, quezquj veuetl mauiizio cuicatl, intla njman itech qujpoa tlatoanj, intla qujmaca, cenca qujcnelia, qujtlaocolia, qujcalmaca qujcujltonoa, qujmaca in quexqujch tlatqujtl in jitic onoc calli, ioan qujmaca calpixquj injc momoztlae qujmocujtlauiz qujtlaqualtiz, qujtenjxitiz, qujneuhcaiotiz qujcochcaiotiz: ioan qujmaca in ixqujch netlauhtilli in tlaçotilmatli, in pepechtli in necujltonolli, çioa, ioan tlacotli, ioan mauiziotl.

---

15. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "y de allí [illegible]."

[p. 60 is blank]

Eighteenth Chapter, in which *it* is told how they chose those who would govern.

The ruler was thus given office and chosen. The lords assembled and deliberated as to whom they would set in office and choose to be ruler. In the same manner assembled the old men and the seasoned warriors, brave warriors, men [at arms], and the leaders of the youths; lords; and keepers of the gods; fire priests—the long-haired ones.[1] All were gathered there at the great palace, the residence of the ruler, in order to consult and choose him who was to be ruler. They cast votes for all the princes who were sons of lords; men [at arms]; brave warriors, experienced in war, who shrank not from the enemy;[2] who knew not wine—who were not drunkards, who ~~became not~~ stupefied;[3] the prudent, able, wise; of sound and righteous rearing and upbringing; who spoke well and were obedient, benevolent, discreet, and intelligent.

And when were settled the deliberations and choosing, they were as one [in their] accord. When a certain prince was chosen and given the charge of being ruler, then also were raised to their office and chosen those who were to help him, the [four] princes who would be by his side; who would be his lords. They were invested with, and given, the titles Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Pochtecatlailotlac, and Ticociauacatl.

When this was done, when the choosing was settled, then was determined on what good day sign would be installed those who had been elected—the ruler and the lords. Then the command was given when there would be a meeting, and all the noblemen were commanded then to come to assemble in the courtyard of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli.

Injc caxtolli omej capitulo: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnpepenaia, in aqujque tlatocatizque. 643

In tlatoanj, injc ixquetzaloia, inic pepenaloia, mocentlaliaia, mononotzaia, in tecutlatoque,[1] injc qujxquetzaia, injc qujpepenaia, in aqujn tlatoanj iez çan no iuhquj mocentlaliaia in achcacauhti ioan tequjoaque, tiacahoan, oqujchtin, ioan tiachcauh tlatoque, ioã teupixque tlenamacaque, papaoaque, ixqujchtin mocentlaliaia in vncan vei tecpan tlatocan, injc mononotzaia, injc qujpepenaia in ac iehoatl tlatocatiz, qujnteneoaia in jxqujchtin tlaçopipilti, in tlatoque impilhoan, in oqujchti, in tiacaoan in iauc matinj, in amo qujtlaçotla in jntzontecõ, in jmelchiqujuh, in amo qujximati in vctli, in amo tlaoananj, *in amo qujmotequjtia mjxitl, tlapatl, in mjmatinj*, in mozcalianj, in tlamatinj, in qualli iectli inezcalilitz, inneoapaoaliz, in vellatoa, in vellacaquj, in tetlaçotlanj, in jxe in iollo. [577]

Auh in jcoac in omocencauh nenonotzaliztli, tlapepenaliztli, in ocentet tlatolli, in ac iehoatl tlaçopilli in oanoc, in oixquetzaloc in tlatoanj iez: njman no iquac ixquetzalo, pepenalo in qujpaleujzque, in jtlan iezque in tlaçopipilti, in jtecutlatocahoan iezque: motecutlalia, motocamaca tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac pochtecatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl: 643 644

in ie iuhquj in omocencauh tlapepenaliztli, njman nenonotzalo, tlein qualli cemjlhujtonalli in jpan tlaliloz que, in opepenaloque: in tlatoanj ioan in tecutlatoque, ic tenaoatilo in jqujn cenqujxoaz: ioan naoatilo in jxqujchtin pipilti, injc cenqujçaqujuj in jitoalco vitzilopuchtli: [777]

---

[1] Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "*juntabanse los senadores que llamaban Tecutlatoque; y tambien los viejos del pueblo, que llamaban achcacauhti; y tambien los capitanes soldados viejos de la guerra, que llamaban iautequiuaque; y otros capitanes que eran principales, en las cosas de la guerra; y tambien los satrapas, que llamaban Tlenamacaque, o papaoaque.*"

Papaoaque: cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, III, Appendix, cap. 6. In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (D. Jourdanet and Rémi Siméon, trs.; Paris: G. Masson, 1880), p. 533, n. 2, the term is thus explained: "'*Ceux qui ont les cheveux emmêlés en touffe sur les oreilles*'; *singulier papaua, formé de* [illegible] *papalli, chevelure longue et en désordre.*"

[2] Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 114.

[3] *Mjxitl, tlapatl:* see Chap. 17, n. 10, *supra*.

-61-

643 And some of the noblemen who feared the office of ruler hid themselves and took refuge [from those who might choose them].[4]

643 644 FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is told how they arrayed those who had been elected when they did penance, and led them to the house of Uitzilopochtli.

And at this time were brought together, according to command, the noblemen, the lords, the masters of the youths [who were] leaders, and great judges. When these lords were assembled, then they commanded the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, to seek out and go to take among themselves, those who had been chosen: the one whom they had named ruler and those whom they had named lords. When they had been put in office, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went to take, wheresoever he was, the one who had been voted in the office of ruler. Then they speedily laid hold of him; before them, all the people beheld him.

643 292 Then they took him before the lords. He went bare. They put on him a green,[5] sleeveless jacket. And they had him carry upon his back his tobacco gourd with green tassels. Then they veiled his face, they covered his head [with a] green fasting cape designed with bones. Then they gave him his green[5] cotton bag filled with incense and decorated with bones, and they put on him his new foam sandals with green toes. They placed in his hand his incense ladle, also painted with the skulls of the dead, and with paper pendants [on the handle].

643 And these long-haired ones, keepers of the gods, went to take the ruler, making him go up before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. When they had brought the ruler to the top [of the pyramid temple], then he took incense, poured it into the incense ladle, in which there were live coals. Then he raised it before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order to perfume it. He stood always with his face covered by the fasting cape designed with bones. And all the common folk stood looking up at him. Trumpets were sounded; the shell trumpets were blown.

644 292 And these lords—the Tlacochcalcatl, the Uitznauatlailotlac, the Pochtecatlailotlac and the Ticociauacatl—the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, then also speedily adorned. Each one they dressed in his

auh in cequjntin in pipilti in qujmacaçi tlatocaiotl motlatia mjnaia.

INJC CE PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnchichioaia, in opepenaloque, in jpan tlamaçeoaia: ioan qujnujcaia, in jchan vitzilopuchtli.

Auh in ie iuhquj: in ocenquixoac, in jooac nanatilli, in pipilti, in tecutlatoque, in tiiachcauh tlaiacatique, ioan achcacauhti, in oeccezecoc, in iehoanti tecutlatoque niman qujnnaoatia in teupixque, papaoaque, injc qujxtemozque injc tetzalan conanatiuj: in opepenaloc in tlatoanj, qujtocaiotia in aqujn, ioan qujntocaiotia in aqujque tecutlatoque, oixquetzaloque njman ic uj in canazque in teupixque papaoaque, in campa catquj, oixquetzaloc tlatoanj: njman qujcujtiuetzi teixpan mochi tlacatl qujtta:

njman ie qujujca imjxpan tecutlatoque petlauhtiuh conaquja xicolli xoxouhquj, ioã qujmamaltia iietecon in jmamaxoxouhquj: njman ic conjxtlapachoa, ic qujquaquimjloa neçaoalquachtli xoxoctic omjcallo, njmã ic conmana icpaxiqujpilli in vncan tentiuh copalli omjcallo xoxoctic: ioan conaaqujlia iancujc in jpoçolcac xoxoctic in jquequetzil, njman imac contequjlia, in jtlema, no mjccatzontecomaio, injc tlacujlolli, amocujtlapile.

Auh in iehoantin, papaoaque teupixque: caantiuj in tlatoanj in qujtlecauja ixpan vitzilopuchtli: in jcoac ocaxitique in tlatoanj, in tlacpac, njman concuj in copalli, contema in tlemaco, in vncan ietiuh tlexochtli: njman ic cacocuj in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, inic tlapopochuja, çan ic quatlapachiuhticac: in neçaualquachtli, omjcallo. Auh in jxqujch maçeoalli, acopa conjtztoc, tlapitzalo, mopitza in tecucizitli.

Auh in iehoantin tecutlatoque, tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, pochtecatlailotlac, ticocioaacatl: njman no hiçiuhca qujnchichioa, in teupixque papaoaque, ceceiaca qujmaqujja tilltic ixicolli, ioan imjietecon, black sleeveless jacket, and his tobacco gourd with black tassels, and they put on them their white foam sandals.[6] Then they veiled and covered their faces, each one of them, with black fasting capes designed with bones. And they gave them cotton incense bags, black and designed with bones, which they filled with incense. And their incense ladles were filled with live coals. Then also they took up each one of them; the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst, in order to have them go up above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. Then each one took incense; each one filled his incense ladle, which went full of live coals, and raised the incense ladle before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli and perfumed it.

---

[4] Corresponding Spanish text: "muchos de los que temían [illegible] que los eligiesen, [illegible] por no ser dignos por no tener con [illegible] cargo."

[5] Xoxouhqui, [illegible]: verde oscuro in corresponding Spanish text.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how those chosen did penance there in the temple and came not forth for four days.

And when this was done, and they had offered incense and spread a fragrance before Uitzilopochtli, then they brought down the ruler, the lord of men; he went covered with the green fasting cape with a design of bones. Then they also brought down each one of the lords. They went quite slowly in order; they went with faces veiled, each one, with the fasting cape with the bone design.

The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, went taking them in their midst. They took [the ruler and] they escorted[7] [the lords] there to the house of fasting, a place named Tlacochcalco, or Tlacatecco, the house of Uitzilopochtli. There they fasted and did penance for four days. Nowhere went they forth; they only remained seated. When it was already midday, then the keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, also went; the ruler and the lords in the Tlacatecco, who fasted there, they seized—they went taking them in their midst. They went with faces veiled in fasting capes; in the hands of each one went his incense ladle, and each one went taking with him his cotton bag filled with incense. Slowly and in order they went to take them up, above to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer incense, to spread a fragrance before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. In the same way they came down; they came in order; they came with faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. Then was the time

tliltic in jmama, ioan quijmaaquijlia impocolcac istac: 644
njman ic quijmontlapechoa, quijmoniaquijmjloa, cecenme, ica neçaoalquachtli, tliltic omjcallo, ioan 292
quijmonmaca icpaxiquipilli, tliltic omjcallo, in vncan temj copalli, ioan intlema tlexochtli ontentiuh: njman ic no quijntlecauja cecenme, quijntlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, injc quijntlecauja iicpac vitzilopuchtli, injc cecenme concuj in copalli, contema in jntlemaco, in vncan tentiuh tlexochtli, cacocuj in tlemaitl in jixpā vitzilopuchtli quijpopochuja.

INJC VME PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn 643 ●
tlamaçeoaia in tlapepenalti, in vmpa teupan: auh
amo oalquiçaia naujlhujtl. 644

Auh in ie iuhquj otlenamacaque, otlapopochujque 783
iixpan vitzilopuchtli: njman ic qujoaltemouja in tla- 785
toanj, tlacatecutli, tlapachiuhtiuh in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo xoxoctic: njman ic no cecenjca qujnoaltemouja, in tecutlatoque, çan jujian tecpantiuj, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj, cecenca in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo.

quijntlacoaantiuj in teupixque papaoaque, quijujca quijmonujca in neçaoalcalli, itocaiocan tlacochcalco, ioan tlacatecco, in jchan vitzilopuchtli: in vncan tlamaçeoaia moçaoaia naujlhujtl, amo campa quiça, çan cheoaticate; in jcoac ie nepantla tonatiuh, njman ic no ohuj in teupixque papaoaque: in vncan tlacatecco, in vncā moçaoaia tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, quijmonana, quijntlacoaantiuj inquijmjlhuihtiuj, in jca neçaoalquachtli, inmac onotiuh in jntlema icecenme, ioan itlan cantiuh cecēca in jicpaxiquipil, in vncan tentiuh copalli, çan jujian tecpantiuj, in quijntlecauja in jcpac vitzilopuchtli, inic ontlenamaca, injc ontlapopochhuja ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no iuj injc oaltemo tecpantiujtze, ixtlapachiuhtiujtze, in jca neçaoalquachtli omjcallo: quijnjcoac tlaqua in tlatoanj, iuā tecutlatoque ça ceppa in tlaqua cemjlhujtl.

---

[6] [illegible]

[7] The Real Academia de la Historia MS has [illegible] for quimonujca.

643 that the ruler and the lords ate; only once a day did
644 they eat.

783 And at night, when midnight arrived, the ruler
785 and the lords arose, covered with the fasting capes. And they took up their incense ladles and cotton bags filled with incense, and maguey spines; and they were shod in their foam sandals. And these keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst—they took them above, to [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, to offer blood at midnight. And they offered incense; there they cast incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

In the same manner they came down. They went in order. The keepers of the gods, the long-haired ones, took them in their midst, with their faces veiled in fasting capes designed with bones. When they had descended, then they went to bathe—the ruler and the lords. Thus did they do penance at night.

For four days they fasted, with faces veiled in fasting capes. And for as many days, at noon, they offered incense before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. Likewise, for as many nights, at midnight, they offered incense and made blood offerings before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli, and they bathed themselves.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which it is related how they ended the penance, and took the ruler to the courtyard of the palace; and the others they took to their homes.

And after this, when the four days and four nights were ended during which the ruler and lords had fasted and done penance—at that time the ruler came forth, that they might escort him there to the great palace, the ruler's residence. And also at that time the lords entered their homes.

[777] And when this had come to pass, then the ruler chose a propitious day on which the ruler's feast might be observed. He commanded all the majordomos to accord others and give them all capes, and costly devices, and shields.

643 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how
527 the ruler made summons to a feast.

648 Then he bade to a feast those from every city. He asked to the banquet the ruler of Michoacan, and the ruler of Cuextlan, and the ruler of Metztitlan, and the lords of the Totonac country, and the lords of Tlaxcala, and the ruler of Cholula, and the lords

Auh iooaltica, in jcoac ioalnepantla oaçic, meoa in tlatoanj, ioan in tecutlatoque, ic onmotlapachoa in neçaoalquachtli: ioan concuj in jtlema ioan icpaxiquipilli in vncan temj copalli, ioan vitztli, ioan conmocactia in jmpoçolcac: auh in ichoantin teupixque papaoaque, quijntlacoaantiuj, in quiujca, icpac vitzilopuchtli, injc onmjço iooalnepantla, ioan ontlenamaca oncopaltema, in jxpan vitzilopuchtli.

çan no iuj oaltemo tecpantiujtze, quijntlacoaana in teupixque papaoaque, ic ixtlapachiuhtiuj in neçaoalquachtli omjcallo, in ooaltemoque, njman ic huj in maltizque, in tlatoanj, ioã tecutlatoque, injc iooaltica tlamaceoaia,

naujlhujtl in moçaoaia ic ixquijmjliuhticatca in neçaoalquachtli, auh ixqujlhujtl in nepãtla tonatiuh, in ontlenamacaia ixpan vitzilopuchtli: çan no ixquijioal, in ioalnepantla tlenamacaia, ioan onmjçoa in jxpan vitzilopuchtli, ioan maltiaia.

INJC EY PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujtzonquixtiaia tlamaçeoaliztli, ioan qujujcaia in tlatoanj, in tecpan itoalco: ioã in oc cequjntin qujnujcaia in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj in otzonquiz naujlhujtl, ioan nauhioal, in oonmoçauh, in ontlamaçeuh tlatoanj, ioan tecutlatoque, qujnjcoac quijça in tlatoanj, injc concaoa in vmpa vei tecpan tlatocan. Auh in tecutlatoque, qujn no icoac calaquj in jnchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njman ic qujpepena in tlatoanj, in qualli tonalli, in jpan motlatocapacaz, qujnnaoatia, in jxqujchtin calpixque, in jxqujch tilmatli, ioan tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli, ioan chimalli, in qujtetlauhtiz, in qujtemacaz.

INJC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa, in quenjn qujchioaia tecoanotzaliztli, in ichoatl tlatoanj.

Niman ic tecoanotza, in noujian altepetl ipan, qujcoanotza in mjchoacan tlatoanj, ioan cuextlan tlatoanj, ioan metztitlan tlatoanj, ioan totonacapan tlatoque, ioan tlaxcallan tlatoque, ioan chololian tlatoanj, ioan uexotzinco tlatoque, ioan tenjtla tla-

of Uexotzinco,[8] and the lords of foreign lands, and the lords of Tzapotlan, and the lords of Anauac, and the ruler of Tehuantepec, and all the lords posted on the shores of the oceans, and all the lords of the cities encircling Mexico—the ruler of Texcoco and the ruler of Tlacopan.

And when all the invited lords had assembled—[both] friendly and unfriendly lords—he provided them food. He gave them drink and food; costly goods he gave them all: capes without price, and valuable breech clouts, and devices, and costly shields. There was dancing; there was a procession; there was singing, night and day, as the ruler provided them solace.

And at that time he also gave gifts to all the noblemen, brave warriors, and lords, and judges, and rulers of the youths, and all the singers, and all the keepers of the gods, fire priests, and [other] priests.

And when the feast ended, then all the bidden guests departed.

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how the ruler adorned himself when he was to war upon some city.

And then, when some days had passed, the ruler proclaimed war—that they would go to set forth somewhere to war. He gave costly devices and shields to the noblemen and to all the brave warriors and men [at arms]. And the ruler himself went to war. To set forth to battle and to conquer, he took all the warriors, and the lords of all the cities about, that they might set forth to war and conquest. And when they had gone forth to conquer and to wage war, they rejoiced greatly over the number of captives whom they had taken, since they would slay them all before [the image of] Uitzilopochtli in order with them to observe his feast. And he accorded honor to all the brave warriors and captors; with many things did he favor them. He gave them costly capes, and breech clouts, and long labrets, and head bands; and he gave them titles by which they would be honored and obeyed as men [at arms] and brave warriors.

toque, ioan tzapotlan tlatoque, ioan anaoac tlatoque, 643
ioan tequantepec tlatoanj: ioan in jxquichtin tla- 527
toque, ilhujcaatenti quijtztoque, ioan in jxquichtin 648
tlatoque in altepetl ipan, qujiaoalotoque mexico, tetz-
cuco tlatoanj, ioan tlacopan tlatoanj.

Auh in jcoac ocenquijxque in jxquichtin tlacoanotzaltin tlatoque, in jcnihoan tlatoque ioan iiaohoan: njman ic quijntlaqualtia, qujnmaca in atl, in tlaqualli, tlaçotlanquj, qujntlauhtia in jxquich tlaçotilmatli, ioan tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, ioan tlaçotlanquj chimalli, netotilo macoalo, cujco, ceioal cemjlhujtl, in tepaquijltia tlatoanj,

auh in jcoac no qujntlauhtia, in jxquichtin pipiltin, [431]
tiacaoã, ioan tecutlatoque, ioan achcacauhti, ioan tel-
puchtlatoque, ioan ixquichtin cujcanjme, ioan ixquichtin teupixque tlenamacaque, tlamacazque:

auh in otzonquiz tecoanotzaliztli, njman ic ompeoa in jxquichtin tlacoanotzalti.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, 643
in quenjn mocencaoaia, in tlatoanj, injc cana iautiz, 292
altepetl ipan.

Auh çan njman iquezquilujoc, iaotlatoa in tla- 726
toanj, injc cana iauqujxoalotiuh, qujntlauhtia in 724
tlaujztli tlaçotlanquj ioan chimalli in pipilti, ioan in jxquichtin tiacahoan, oquichti: auh iioma in tlatoanj in iauh iauc, in oniaoquijça, in ontepeoa qujujca in jxquichti iiauqujxque, ioan in noujian tlatoque altepetl ipan inic oiaoquijça, ontepeoa: auh in jcoac õtepeoato, oiaoquijçato cenca paquj, in quexquich malli ocanato, injc mochintin ixpan vitzilopuchtli qujnmjctiaia, inic inca ilhujquixtiaia. Auh in ixquichtin tiacaoan, tlamanjme, qujnmaujztiotia, mjiec tlamãtli injc qujmjcnelia, qujntlauhtia in tlaçotilmatli, ioan maxtlatl, ioan teçacatl, ioan tlalpilonj, ioan qujntocamaca injc maujztililozque, injc tlacamachozque, injc oquichti, tiacahoã.

---

[8] In ibid., [illegible] tlatoque is followed by [illegible] [illegible] tlatoque, and rulers of the [illegible] country.

[p. 66 is blank]

65-

701 their estate as men dexterous in war, as men of valor,
721 as chieftains. Thus none, when they went, might take account that they might die. [For] if war were not proclaimed, if they were not to go off to die, none might know for how much time they might live. And if war were proclaimed, then set forth together the assembled men of Mexico. The generals and the commanding generals led them. When they reached the place which they were to conquer, upon the next day they disposed them in battle array.

726 And there on the battlefield went the shorn ones
687 in pairs. The Otomí [warriors] also went in pairs. If one of the shorn ones died in the fray and if the other of the shorn ones turned tail, then Moctezuma [had an official] take after him. No more might he enter the Eagle House; they kept him shut away in his [own] house. Of no further use was he. And they suspended the shorn one. And in the same way they exacted penalty of Otomí [warriors] if one of them died [in battle] and if the other fled. They took after him; they suspended him as chieftain. And also they deprived him of rank if he showed fear.

All with which they had bedight him—the precious capes and costly breech clouts—no longer could he assume. He might put on only a poor maguey fiber cape or a wretched yucca fiber cape, as he deserved.

701 And perhaps in a year or two [Moctezuma] re-
431 membered him, sought him out, and drew him from
● 643 his home. And when he went before Moctezuma, thereupon he gave him again the devices, perhaps [ornamented] with quetzal feathers or with gold. Then [the ruler] gave him gifts; he presented him a bundle of capes, and provided him with grains of maize—he gave him a canoe full of maize grains; and he provided him with *chía*—he weighed out two large measures of *chía*. And thereafter once again he placed himself among [those in] the Eagle House, because he merited once more assuming all the costly capes and breech clouts and all the honors which were his.

701 And if, as a shorn one, or as an Otomí [warrior],
726 he were to take a captive there at Atlixco or at Uexotzinco, much was Moctezuma's heart gladdened thereby. And all the lords were happy because of it; they were pleased and rejoiced therefor, that those who were shorn ones or Otomí [warriors] had taken captives: because men dexterous in war had surrounded [the foe].

imoceloyo inic oquichti inic tiacauã. inic ayac ỹ uiui ça quipopoulhtinemi in immiquiz. im ma ualmihto yaoyotl im ma ommiquiti ma oce ontlamati in oc quexquich cauitl nemizqz, auh intla oualmihto yaoyotl nimã cemolini i ye istlacatl mexicatl. in teyacana tlatlacochcalca. tlatlacatecca in oacito in õpa tepeuazqz. oc cemilhuipã i yaoteca.

auh i ye ompa yàoc. onmettitiui in quaquachicti. no omettitiui. in otomi. intla ce oyaomic quachic. intla oc ce ualmocuepa quachiqz. niman ic quitohtocaya i motecuçoma. aocmo calaqz in q̃uhcali. ça iccen quicallatiaya. aocca moneqz. auh q'caualtiaya inic quachic. Auh çan ye no iuh q'ntlatzacuiltiaya in otomi intla çan no ce omic intla oc ce ualmocuepa. quitohtoca quicaualtia inic tiacauh. auh no quicaualtia inic otlamamauhtiaya.

in isquich in itech oq'tlaliaya in tlaçotilmahtli. in tlaçomaxtlatl. aoc tle quicui. ça ichtilmahtzintli. anoço icçotilmahtzintli. in q'mulpilia. inic quitlamahceualmacaya.

auh in quilnamiquia aço ce xiuitl anoço õxiuitl. in quitemouaya. ychan in q'ualanaya. auh in õya ispã motecuiçoma. nimã ye ic q'ualmaca in tlauiztli aço quetzallo. anoço teocuitlayo. niman quitlauhtia, cen q'milli in q'maca tilmatli. yuã quitlaoltia cem acalli in q'maca tlaolli yuan quichientia. aço ontetl y uey tzincopinq' ic q'tamachiua chien. auh qui ye no ceppa yquac tetlan motlalia in q̃uhcali. ypampa ca ontlamahceuh oc ceppa imochi q'cui in tlaçotilmahtli in tlaçomaxtlatl. in isq'ch ytech poui in imauizço.

Auh intla yquachicyo intla yotõyo ypan otlama in ompa atlisco anoço uexotzinco oc cenca ic paquia in iyollo motecuiçoma. yuan in isquichtin tlahtoqz ic papaqz ic motlamachtiaya ic ahauiaya. in oypan tlamahqz inquachicyo in imotõyo. ỹpãpa ca oquimiauayotito in quauhyotl in oceloyotl.

729 ●[643] 431 301 He gave them long, yellow labrets; or curved, yellow lip plugs; or long, blue labrets; or curved, blue lip plugs; or curved, green stone lip plugs; or green stone lip plugs; or lip shafts.[5] Then [he gave them] head bands with two quetzal feather tassels [intertwined] with flint knives [fashioned] of gold and with golden pendants; or head bands with two trupial feather tassels; and cured leather ear plugs; and costly capes—the one [known as] the lord's cape, with the obsidian serpent design; or the ashen gray one with red eyes on the border; or with earthen jars designed in feathers; or with the obsidian arrow step design; and costly breech clouts[6]—perhaps the breech clout with twisted ends, [or] with cotton at the ends—various kinds of costly breech clouts; and devices—perchance [the one with] the quetzal feather comb; or the golden banner; or the yellow Xolotl head; or the golden hood; or the golden conical cap; or the quetzal feather banner; or the obsidian butterfly with quetzal feathers and eyes of gold; and costly shields—perhaps [the one of] the skin [and feathers] of the blue cotinga; or of yellow parrot feathers—verily, all the costly shields. And he gave them stewardships: possibly in two places or in three he gave them [such offices]. For truly they had taken [captives].

643 And if the ruler should die, from these one was chosen to govern the city. And likewise from these, some were placed at the feet [of the judges] who pronounced judgments and meted out death sentences. [These were] the Tlacochcalcatl tecutli, or the Ticociauacatl tecutli, or the Cioacoatl tecutli, or the Tlillancalqui tecutli.[7]

in qujnmaca coztic teçacatl, anoço coztic tencololli, anoço xoxouhquj teçacatl, anoço xoxouhquj tencololli, anoço chalchiuhtencololli, anoço calchiuhtentetl, anoço tlanjtentetl: njman ic quetzallalpilonj teucujtlatica tecpaio, ioan teucujtlatl in jpepeiocio, anoço çaquan tlalpilonj, ioan cuetlaxnacochtli, ioan tlaçotilmatli, iehoatl in tlatocatilmatli in jtzcoaio, anoço ixnextentlapallo, anoce iujticatetecomaio, anoço itzmjxicalcoliuhquj, yoan tlaçomaxtlatl, anoçe tzicoliuhquj maxtlatl, aiacaichcaio, içaço quexqujch tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, aço quetzalpatzactli, anoço teucujtlapanjtl, anoço tozquaxolotl, anoço teucujtlaquacalalatli, anoçe teucujtlacopilli, anoço quetzalpanjtl, anoçe itzpapalotl quetzallo teucujtlatl in ixtelolo, ioan tlaçochimalli, aço xiuhtotoieoatl, anoçe tozeoatl in ie uel ixqujch tlaçotlanquj chimalli, ioan qujnmaca calpixcantli, aço ooccan, anoço eexcan in qujnmaca: ipampa ca nel ocaçique.

Auh intla mjqujz tlatoanj: iehoantin ceme analoia, injc iehoantin qujpachozque altepetl. Auh çan no iehoantin, cequjntin ontlalilo tlacxitlan, in vncan tecutlatoa, in tlatzontequj, in qujtzõtecticate mjqujztli: tlacochcalcatl tecutli, anoço ticociaoacatl, tecutli, aço çioacoatl tecutli, anoço tlillancalquj tecutli.

---

[5] *Tlanjtentetl*: Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 332, has *tlanitentetl*.

[6] After *yoan tlaçomaxtlatl*, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has the following, omitted from the *Florentine Codex*: *quetzalxomaxtlatl*—*Kolibrischambinde*, according to Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

[7] A passage omitted from the *Florentine Codex* but included in the *Real Academia de la Historia MS*, ending this chapter, has been placed in Appendix B.

643
443
656
Nineteenth Chapter, in which is described the ordering of the market place, and [how] the ruler took great care of it.

The ruler took care of the directing of the market place and all things sold, for the good of the common folk, the vassals, and all dwellers in the city, the poor, the unfortunate, so that [these] might not be abused, nor suffer harm, nor be deceived nor disdained. Thus were things bought, or sold: they arranged them in order so that each thing sold would be placed separately—in its own place or station. They were not spread about in confusion.

Market place directors were appointed to office. They cared for, and attended to, the market place and all and each of the things sold—the merchandise which was there. Each of the directors took care, and was charged, that no one might deceive another, and how [articles] might be priced and sold.

[306] Separate were those who sold gold and silver, and green stone, and turquoise, and emeralds, and quetzal feathers, and [those of] the blue cotinga, and the red spoonbill, and all the various precious feathers of birds, which were needed for devices and shields.

[291
278] Separate were those who sold chocolate, aromatic herbs,[1] and vanilla. Apart were those who sold great capes, costly capes, embroidered capes, costly breech clouts, embroidered skirts and shifts, large common capes, maguey fiber capes, and thin maguey fiber capes.

[262] And all food necessary to them also was sold separately: dried grains of maize, white, black, red, and yellow; yellow beans, white ones, black, red; pinto beans; large beans; gray amaranth seed, red amaranth seed, and fish amaranth; white chía,[2] black chía, and the wrinkled variety;[3] salt; fowl; turkey cocks and hens; quail; rabbits, hares, and deer; ducks

Ic caxtolli onnauj capitulo: ipan mjtoa, in tlatecpanaliztli in tianquizco: auh in iehoatl tlatoanj, cenca qujmocujtlaujaia.

In tlatoanj qujmocujtlaujaia ipan tlatoaia in tianquiztli, ioã ixqujch tlanamactli, impampa cujtlapilli, atlapalli, maçeoalli, ioan ixqujch aoa, tepeoa in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja, injc amo quequeloloz, injc amo xixicoloz, injc amo ica necacaiaoaloz, injc amo nexictiloz, injc motlacouja, in anoço itla qujmonamaqujlia qujtecpanaia, injc nononqua monamacaz, icecentlamantli tlanamactli, çan iiceian, çan ioonoian, amo ixneliuhtoca,

qujmjxquetzaia, in tianqujzpan tlaiacanque, in qujmocujtlaujaia, in jpan tlatoaia in tianqujztli: ioan ixqujch tlanamactli, icecẽtlamantli tlanamactli, tiamjctli, ipan manca, qujmocujtlaujaia cecentlamantin tlaiacanque, in innecujtlaujl catca, injc aiac texixicoz, ioan quenjn tlapatiioaz, quenjn tlanamacoz.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca in coztic, ioan iztac teucujtlatl, ioan chalchiujtl, ioan teuxiujtl ioã quetzalitztli, ioan quetzalli, ioã xiuhtototl, ioan tlauhquechol, ioan ixqujch nepapan totoiujtl, tlaçotli in jtech monequja tlaujztli chimalli.

Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca cacaoatl, vej nacaztli, tlilxochitl. Nonqua onoca in qujnamaca veuej tilmatli, tlaçotilmatli, tlamachio tilmatli, tlaçomaxtlatl, tlamachcuejtl, tlamachvipilli, quachtli, ichtilmatli, aiatl,

ioan in ixqujch qualonj, in tetech monequj, no nonqua monamaca, tlaolli iztac, iauhtlaolli xiuhtoctlaolli, coztic tlaolli, coztic etl, iztac etl, tlilletl, chichiltic etl, çolcujcujltic etl, aiecotli. Nexoauhtli, chichiltic oauhtli, mjchioauhtli. Iztac chia, tliltic chiã, chiantzotzol, iztatl: totoli, vexolotl, çiacatotoli, çoli, tochi, çitli, maçatl, canauhtli, atzitzicujlotl, pipixcan,

---

[1] *Vej nacaztli: Cymbopetalum penduliflorum* (Dunal) Baill, in Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

[2] Cf. Chap. 13, n. 23, *supra*.

[3] Cf. Chap. 13, n. 21, *supra*. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 61, says it is "*unas semillas como lentejas blancas*."

443 ●643 656 262

and other water birds,[4] gulls,[5] and wild geese;[6] maguey syrup and honey; hot chilis, chili from Atzitziuacan, small chilis,[7] chili powder, yellow chili, chili from the Couixca, sharp-pointed red chilis, long chilis, smoked chilis; small, wild tomatoes,[8] and ordinary tomatoes.

[314 [317] 412] [413]

And separately were sold every kind of fruit: the American cherry, avocados, plums, guavas, sweet potatoes, manihot,[9] sapotas,[10] anonas,[11] yellow sapotas, sapotillas,[12] *tejocotes,*[13] tuna cactus, mesquite beans, marchpane, *cacomites,*[14] *cimate* roots,[15] squash cut in pieces, chayote,[16] squash seeds, *Cassia* seeds;[17] and white fish, frogs, and water dogs; water fly eggs, water flies, lake scum, and red shellfish; and white paper made of the bark of trees, and incense, and rubber, and lime, and obsidian; and firewood, and poles, logs, planks, and chips of wood; digging sticks, pointed oaken poles, hatchets, paddles, staves; maguey roots,[18] maguey fiber, and cured leather, and sandals; and copper axes, copper needles, and carpenters' and sculptors' copper chisels; and all manner of edible herbs—onions, water plant leaves, thistles,[19] amaranth greens and heads,[19a] purslane, mixed greens, varieties of sorrel;[20] tuna cactus fruit, sweet and acid; squash greens, tender young squash, squash blos-

tlalalacatl. Necutetzaoac, quauhnecutli, tonalchilli, atzitzioacaiotl chilli, chiltecpin, texiochilli, chilcoztli, coujxcaiotl chillj, mjlchilli, viiac chilli, pochcoac chilli, mjltomatl, xitomatl:

ioan nonqua monamaca, in ixquijtlamantli xochiqualli. Capoli, aoacatl, maçaxocotl, xaxocotl, camotli, quauhcamotli, teçontzapotl, eztiotzapotl, atzapotl, tzapotl, texocotl, nochtli, mjzquitl, itlaaquijllo, chiancaca, cacomjtl, çimatl, aiotlatlapantli, chaiotli, aiooachtli, quauhaiooachtli, ioan iztac mjchin, cujatl, axolotl, aoauhtli, axaxaiacatl, tecujtlatl, izcaujtli, ioan iztac quauhamatl, ioã copalli, ioan olli, ioan tenextli, ioan itztli, ioan tlatlatilquaujtl, ioan quaoacatl, quammjmjlli, vapalli, tlaxamanjlli, victli, vitzoctli, tlatecon̄j, aujctli, matlaquaujtl, menelhoatl, ichtli, ioan cuetlaxtli, ioan cactli, ioan tepoztli, quauhxelolonj, ioan tepozcoiolomjtl, ioan tepoztli tlacujcujoalonj, ioan tepoztlaquauhicujlolonj, ioan in ixquich tlamãtli qujlitl qualonj, xonacatl, tzaianalqujlitl, vitzqujlitl, oauhqujlitl, oauhtzontli, itzmjqujlitl, qujllanenel, iztac xoxocoioli, xoxocoiolujujlan, nopalli, xoconochtli, axoxoco, aioiacaqujlitl, aionanacatl, aioxochqujlitl, eçoqujlitl, exotl, elotl, xilotl, ooatl, mjiaoatamalli, same; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

---

[4] *Atzitzicuilotl:* "son redondillas, tienen los picos largos, y agudos y negros; tienen los pies largos; son cenicientas y tienen el pecho blanco; dicen que nacen en la provincia de Anáhuac; vienen a esta Laguna de México entre las aguas o llueve; son muy buenas de comer. Dicen que éstas, y los sardos del agua, por tiempo se vuelven en peces; dicen que las ven entrar a bandas en la mar, dentro del agua, y que nunca más parecen" (*ibid.*, p. 170). Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 125, n. 1; Cecilio A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Aztequismos* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del autor, 1904), pp. 542-543. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 487 (*chichicuilote*) says there are two species—*Phalaropus wilsonii* BP and *Lobipes lobatus* L.

[5] *Pipitztli:* "son blancas y del grandor de palomas, tienen alto cuello, críanse hacia la mar, y al tiempo de coger el maíz vienen acá dentro a la tierra; cuando estas aves vienen, entiéndese que es tiempo de coger el maíz" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 183). In Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 485, these are *Larus franklinii* SW & Rich, currently called *apipizca*.

[6] *Tlalalacatl:* "ánsares monteses . . . . grandes como los de España; tienen los pies colorados y el pico, son pardillos; tienen buena carne; tienen debajo plumas blancas y blandas, (y) de estas plumas se aprovechan para hacer mantas; las plumas de encima son recias, tienen buenos cañones para escribir" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 169). These (*tlalalacatl*), according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 194, are *Anser albifrons* GM.

[7] Cf. Chap. 13, n. 22, *supra*.—"*Cierto género de chile llamado chiltecpin, muy tostado y mezclado con ulli*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 102)

[8] Cf. Chap. 13, n. 20, *supra*.

[9] Cf. Chap. 13, n. 10, *supra*.

[10] Cf. Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

[11] Cf. Chap. 13, n. 8, *supra*.

[12] Simeón, *op. cit.*; note also, however, Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

[13] *Texocotl:* *tejocote*—*Crataegus mexicana* Moc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 150).

[14] *Cacomitl:* *cacomite*—*Tigridia pavonia* Ker; *oceloxóchitl*, el edible root (*ibid.*, I, p. 254). Also Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 657.

[15] *Cimatl:* *cimate*, a condiment (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 352). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, it is identified as *Desmodium amplifolium* Hemsl. (p. 659) or *D. parviflorum* Mart. y Gal (p. 661).

[16] *Chaiotl:* *chayote*—*Sycios edulis; Sechium edule; Cucumis acutangulus* (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 477). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 189, *Sechium edule* Sw.

[17] In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 171ff., various kinds of *quauhayohuachtli* are identified as *Jatropha curcas* Linn., *Manihot utilissima* (?) Pohl, *Croton* sp., *Cassia fistula* Linn.

[18] *Menelhoatl:* *metl* (maguey), *nelhuayotl* (*principio, comienzo*, in Molina, *op. cit.*).

[19] Emmart, *op. cit.*, p. 213, notes that Simeón must be in error in translating *vitzquilitl* as cardoon, since the latter is not native to Mexico; the *Badianus MS* (Pls. 10, 73) illustrates a thistle (*Cirsium* sp.). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 82, describes it (*güisquelite*) as, "*En Méjico especie de alcachofa*" (artichoke).

[19a] See Sauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 563-4, 569. Sauer suggests that "*huauhtzontli* may be a corruption of . . . *cuauhtzontli*," a chenopodium; *C. Nuttalliae* and *C. berlandieri* are mentioned.

[20] *Xoxocoyoli:* *xocoyol*—*Oxalis angustifolia* H. B. K.; *O. corniculata* L.; *O. tetraphylla* Cav.; *O. verticillata* Dc. (Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 154). Emmart (*op. cit.*, p. 236) mentions other varieties of *Oxalis*, but on p. 213 notes that the term *xocoyoli* is used also for *Rumex* (subgenus *Acetosa*), and that *xoxocoyolin* likewise identifies two species of *Begonia*.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls, and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chia seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

443
clotlaxcalli, ioan in jxqujch qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, 643
necutamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcal- 656
mjmjlli. 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca 443
acaquaujtl, acaiietl, iietlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xoch- 463
iocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tle- 656
quaztli, ioan apaztli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl,
ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in [276]
çoqujtecomatl, ioã in jxqujch tlamantli çoqujtlat-
qujtl. [145]

Auh in ichoantin tianqujzpan tlaiacanque, intla-
camo qujmocujtlauja, intequjuh, totoco, ioan caoal-
tilo in jntequjuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli qujnamaca,
aço tlaçotilmatli, anoço chalchiujtl, intla oiximach- [685]
ililoc, intlacamo qujnextiz in aqujn qujcohujli, in
tlein tlachtectli, qujtzacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tla-
tzontequjliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmaca-
çia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel qujcoaia,

in jntequjuh catca tianqujzpantlaca qujchioaia 443
iiaujtacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan 722
texoxtzalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, inic ipan tequjtia 651
tianqujztli, ioan tianqujzpan tlaiacanque, in tlaix-
quetzalli oqujchti, ioan çioa in tequjtlatoque catca. 705

---

[21] Sahagún, op. cit., p. 275, describes quequilitl as "hojas y ramas de los frijoles"; on p. 338, however, it is given as Mesembryanthemum blandum L.

[p. 70 is blank]

648 **Second Chapter, in which it is told how those arrived who first came by boat, which, they say, was only one boat.**

And when were seen those who had reached the shore of the ocean, traveling by boat, then in person went Pinotl, the high steward of Cuetlaxtlan. He took with him other stewards [The second was] the steward of Mictlanquauhtla, Yaotzin. The third was the steward of Teociniocan, named Teociniacatl. The fourth was Cuitlalpitoc, who was only an underling[1] and a leader. The fifth was Tentlil,[2] likewise a leader.

Only these went to look at [the Spaniards]. They 643 proceeded as if to sell [goods]; hence they went in disguise, to find out about them. They went to offer 29a them precious mantles, richly made, [which] could be only Moctezuma's mantles. No one else might wear them; they were his alone—his very own.

By boat they went in order to see them. As they did so, Pinotl said: "Let us not deceive the lord Moctezuma; for no longer would [we] live.[3] Let us indeed go, lest we die, in order that he may learn 643 the truth." ([For] Moctezuma[4] was his name as a prince, and Tlacatecutli [lord of men] was his title as ruler.)

Thereupon they went into the water. They entered the boats and followed the water['s current]. The water folk rowed them.

And when they had drawn near, where they could see the Spaniards, then, in their presence, [as if] 576 kissing the earth,[5] [they kissed] the prows of the boats. For they thought that Quetzalcoatl Topiltzin had come.

The Spaniards called to them. They said to them: "Who are you? Whence have you come? Where is your home?"

Injc vme capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn acico, in achto acalli oalla: in juh qujtoa ca çan centetl in acalli.

Auh in oittoque, in aqujque ovallaque ilhujca atenco, in acaltica ie onotinemj. Niman inoma ia in cuetlaxtecatl pjnotl, vei calpixquj, q'tvicac oc cequjntin calpixque: Mictlan, quauhtla calpixquj, Iaotzin. Injc ei, Teuciniocan calpixquj: itoca Teuciniacatl. Injc navi iehoatl in cujtlalpitoc çan tetlan nenquj tlaiacanquj. Injc macujlli Tentlil, çan no tlaiacanquj;

çan oc iehoantin in, in qujmjttato, çan iuhqujnma qujntlanamaqujltito, injc qujnnaoalittato, injc qujnnemjlito: qujnmacato tlaçotilmatli, tlaçotlanquj, çan vel itech itilma in Motecuçoma, in aoc ac oc çe qujquemj, çan vel ineixcavil, vel itonal:

acaltica in iaque injc qujmjttato, injc iuh qujchiuhque in: qujto in pinotzin. Ma tiqujztlacaviti in tlacatl Motecuçomatzin, ca iaocmo annenca ma çan tehoantin tivia, ma tonmjqujti, injc vel melaoac qujmocaqujtiz (in motecuçomatzin ipiltoca, auh Tlacatecutli in jtlatocatoca:

njman ie ic vi in atl itic ommacalaqujque, ommatoctique, qujotlanelhujque atlaca.

Auh in ointech ompachivito españoles: njman imjxpan ontlalquaque acaliacac, in momatque, ca iehoatl in Quetzalcoatl topiltzin, in oacico,

qujnoalnotzq̃ in españoles: qujmjlhujque. Acamjque campa oanvallaque, cana mochan?

---

[1] Corresponding Spanish text: "criado de otro destos calpixques."

[2] Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, in *Décima tercia relación de la venida de los españoles y principio de la ley evangélica* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), p. 8, mentions Teuhtlile, or Teuhtlille, *"gobernador de Moctheuzoma, que era de Cotaxtla, o Cuetlachtlan,"* who brought the news to the ruler when Cortés later (1519) landed.

[3] *Annenca* (you live): possibly *tinenca* (we live) is intended.

[4] Motecuçomatzin: reverential form of well-known Nahuatl names is generally not expressed in our translation, unless demanded by the context. With others we usually follow the Nahuatl text.

[5] Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II—*The Ceremonies*, p. 182. Seler, op. cit., p. 457, translates the phrase thus: *"assen die Erde vor ihnen vorn am Kanu."*

-5-

648 Then [the others] said: "We have come from Mexico."

[The Spaniards] answered them: "If in truth you are Mexicans, what is the name of the ruler of Mexico?"

They replied: "O our Lords, his name is Moctezuma."

431 Therefore they offered them all the various things
643 which they bore with them; costly capes such as
those which here are named: [the mantle] with the
292 sun design, the blue-knotted one, the one with the
648 jar design, the one with eagle down, the one with
the serpent mask, the one with the wind jewel, the one with turkey blood design, or the one with the whirlpool design, or the one with the smoking mirror.

648 When they had presented them all these various [capes, the Spaniards] gave them gifts in return. They offered them green and yellow necklaces,[6] which looked like amber,

And when they had taken [the gift], when they had seen it, much did they marvel.

And [the Spaniards] addressed them; they said to them: "Go [in peace]! First of all we go to Castile. We shall not tarry in proceeding to arrive in Mexico."

Thereupon [the Spaniards] departed. Thereupon also [the others] went; they turned back.

484 And when they had disembarked on dry land, then they went forthwith to Mexico. Day by day and night by night[7] they traveled, in order to come and notify Moctezuma, and be first[8] to arrive telling him the truth, and to inform him. They went carrying their goods, which they had received.

500 And upon this they declared to him: "O our Lord, my noble youth, mayest thou destroy us! For behold, this we have seen; behold, this we have done, there where thy grandfathers stand guard for thee, before the ocean. We went to see our lords the gods, in the midst of the water. All thy mantles we went to give them. And behold, they gave us of their noble goods. They said: 'If in truth ye have come from Mexico, behold, this ye shall give the ruler Moctezuma. Thus will he know us.'"

Çan njman qujtoque, ca vmpa in mexico tivallaque.

Qujnoalnanqujlique intla nelli anmexica tle itoca in tlatoanj mexico?

Qujmonjlhujque. Totecujovane ca Motecuçoma itoca.

Njmã ie ic qujnmaca in jzqujtlamantli qujtqujque tlaçotilmatli: iuhquj in, iehoatl in, in njcã moteneoa. Tonatiuhio xiuhtlalpilli: tecomaio, xaoalquauhio, coaxaiacaio, ecacozcaio, Tolecio, anoço amalacaio, Tezcapocio:

in jzqujtlamãtli in in qujmõmacaque, qujnoalcuepcaiotilique, qujnoalmacaque cozcatl, xoxoctic, coztic: iuhqujnma in apoçonalnenequj:

auh in oconcujque, in oqujttaque, cenca tlamaviçoque,

yoan qujnoalnaoatique: qujnoalilhujque: xivian oc ie tivi in castilla, amo tivecaoazq̃ tacitivi in mexico:

njmã ie ic vi, njman ie no ic vitze, oalmocuepque.

Auh in otlalhoacca qujçaco, njman oallamelauhque in Mexico, cecemjlhujtl, cecejoal in oalnenenque, injc qujnonotzaco in motecuçoma, in melaoac in jveliaca qujlhujco, qujcaqujtico: intlatquj oalmochiuhtia in oqujcujto.

Auh njman ie ic qujnonotza. Totecujoe, notelpotzine, ma xitechmotlatlatili ca izcatquj otiqujttaque, izcatquj oticchiuhque, ca in vmpa mitzonmotlapielilia in moculhoan, in teuatl ixco. Ca otiqujmjttato in totecujoan, in teteu in atl itic: in jxqujch motilmatzin otiqujnmacato: auh izcatquj techmacaque intlatqujtzi. Qujtoque; intla nelli vmpa oanoallaque mexico, izcatquj anqujmacazque in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ic techiximatiz:

---

[6] Spanish text: *los españoles dieron a los indios cuentas de vidrio, unas verdes y otras amarillas*." This was the result of the interview between the Indians and Juan de Grijalva, in the expedition of 1518.

[7] *Ibid.*: "en un día, y en una noche."

[8] Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 458, has *[illegible]*, translated "first of all."

Eighteenth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards entered Moctezuma's princely home, and what happened there.

After this they went to Moctezuma's own store house, where were kept Moctezuma's own goods, a place called Totocalco.[1] [They acted] eager and content; they clapped one another on the back, as if happy. And on arriving, when they entered the store house, they scattered, bustling everywhere, as if greedy and covetous.[2] Thereupon were taken out the goods which were in truth [Moctezuma's] own, his exclusively, his portion, precious items all: neck bands with pendants, arm bands with tufts of quetzal feathers, golden arm bands; and bracelets, golden bands with shells to fasten at the knee, and turquoise mosaic crowns with triangular forehead pieces — the rulers' attire; and turquoise nose rods; and all the rest of his array, without number. They took it all. They possessed themselves of all, appropriated all to themselves, and took all to themselves as their own.

And after they had removed all the gold [from the raiment], when it had been torn off, they then piled up in the courtyard, in the middle of the area, all the precious feathers. And when this had been done, when all the gold had been gathered, then Marina summoned, and ordered called, all the noblemen. She got upon the roof-top, on a parapet. She said: "O Mexicans, come hither![3] The Spaniards have suffered great fatigue. Bring here food, fresh water, and all which is needed. For they are already tired and exhausted; they are in need; they are spent and in want. Why do you not wish to come? It appeareth that you are angered."

But the Mexicans no longer dared go there. They were much frightened; they were weak with fear; they were terrified. Great awe spread; dread reigned.[4] No longer did one dare do anything. It was as if a fierce beast were there; as if the land lay dead. None the less, not on this account did they do nothing, nor hesitate to leave that which was needed. But they

Inje caxtolli omei capitulo: vncan mjtoa, in quenjn Españoles calaquito in jpilchan Motecuçoma: auh in tlein vmpa muchiuh.

Niman ie ic vi in vel itlatlatiaia Motecuçoma in vmpa mopia in vel itech iaxca in motecuçoma: itocaiocan Totocalco iuhqujn mocecenquetza, iuhqujn yiciolipan, iuhqujn moquequetzotzona, iuhqujn iiztaia iniollo. Auh in onacito, in oncalacque tlatlatiloian, iuhqujn tlacecēmana, novian aactivetzi, iuhqujn mjhicultia, mjhicolia: njmā ie ic oallaqujxtilo in vel ixcoian yiaxca, in vel inecixcavil, in vel itonal, mochi tlaçotlanquj, in chaiaoac cozcatl, in machoncotl, in teucujtlamatemecatl, yoan in matzopetztli, teucujtlaicxitecuecuextli, yoan in xiuvitzolli tlatocatlatqujtl, yoā in iacaxivitl, yoan in jxqujch in oc cequj in jtlatquj in amo çan tlapoalli muchi qujcujque, moch intech compachoq̄ moch cōmotechtique, moch cōmotonaltique. 643 301

Auh in ocōcocoleuhque in jxqujch in teucujtlatl: in ontlacocoleoaloc, njman ie ic qujcentlalia itoalco, itoalnepantla in jxqujch in tlaçohivitl. Auh in ie iuhquj in omochi munechico in teucujtlatl. Njmā ie ic qujoalnotza, qujoalnenotzallanj in jxqujchtin in pipiltin in Malintzin: tlapanco oalmoquetz, atenanticpac: Quitoa. Mexica xioalhujan ca cenca ie tlaihiovia in Españoles: xiqualcujcā in tlaqualli, in chipaoac atl, yoan in jxqujch monequj, ca ie tlaihiovia, ie qujciavi, ie qujhiovia, ie mociavi, ie mjhiovia: tleica in amo ancallaznequj? ic neci ca anqualanj.

Auh in Mexica çā njmā aocmo motlapaloaia in ma onvian, cenca momauhtiaia, mauhcaçonequja mjhiçaviaia, cenca mavizdi onoc, mavizdi moteteca, aocac tlaxtlapaloa, ça iuhq'n tequanj vnca, ça iuhqujn tlalli mjctoc: tel amo ic mocaoa, amo ic netzotzonalo in concaoa in jxqujch intech monequj, ça in mauhcac in concaoaia, çan momamauhtitivi, ça onmomauhcatla-

---

[1] See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., VIII — Kings and Lords, p. 45.

[2] Seler, op. cit., p. 496, translates thus: "Man sah sie stolz aufgerichtet gehen, wie Herren (oder wie Tiere), gleichsam einander [illegible], hochzufrieden."

[3] [illegible]: this should probably be read [illegible].

[4] [illegible]: the word is blurred in the MS.

[redacted]

COO

Twenty-third Chapter, in which is told how Moctezuma and a great nobleman of Tlatilulco had died, and how [the Spaniards] had cast their bodies out before the gate — before the gate of the dwelling in which the Spaniards were.

And when four days had passed since all [the chieftains] had been hurled from the [pyramid] temple, [the Spaniards] came out and cast forth [the bodies of] Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin, who had died,[1] at the water's edge at a place called Teoayoc. For here was a carved stone image of a tortoise;[2] like a tortoise was the representation in stone.

[532]
764
143

And when they were seen and recognized as being Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin, they then took up Moctezuma in their arms and carried him there to a place called Copulco.[3] Thereupon they laid him on a pyre and then kindled and set fire to it. After this, the flames blazed up; it was as if they roared, as the fire formed tongues which rose like tassels of fire. And Moctezuma's body seemed to lie sizzling, and it smelled foul as it burned.

Inje cempoalli vmei Capitulo vncan mjtoa in quenjn Motecuçoma, yoan ce vei pilli tlatilulco mjcque: auh in innacaio qujvallazque iqujiaoaioc in calli in vncan catca Españoles.

Auh ie iuh navilhujtl neteucallhujloc in qujmontlaçaco in Motecuçoma, yoan Itzquauhtzin, omjcque, atêco itocaiocan, Teoaioc: ca vncan catca in jxiptla aiotl, tetl in tlaxixintli, iuhqujn aiotl ipan mjxeuhtica in tetl.

Auh in oittoque, in oiximachoque in ca ie Motecuçomatzin, yoan Itzquauhtzin: in Motecuçomatzin njman qujoalnapalotiqujzque, qujoalhujcaque in vncan itocaiocan Copulco: njman ie ic qujquaquauhtlapachoa, njman ie ic contlemjna, contlequechia: njman ie ic cuecuetlaca in tletl, iuhqujn tetecujca, iuhqujn nenenepiloa tlecueçalutl, iuhqujn tlemjmjiavatl moquequetza, in tlenenepilli: auh in jnacaio Motecuçoma, iuhqujn tzotzoiocatoc, yoan tzoiaia injc tlatla.

---

[1] Rafael García Granados points out, in a personal communication, that "concerning the death of Moctezuma various versions exist, but all of them may be included in two large groups: those emanating from the natives and those emanating from the Spaniards. The former maintain that Moctezuma was killed by the Spaniards, and the latter that his death was due to being struck by a rock as he tried to calm his subjects. Among reports of indigenous origin we consider the opinions of Durán, *Hist. de las Indias de Nueva España*, II, 50 — '*. . . le hallaron muerto con una cadena a los pies y con cinco puñaladas en el pecho*'; Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Décima Tercia Relación de la venida de los Españoles*, p. 12 — '*. . . en donde dicen que uno de ellos le tiró una pedrada de la cual murió, aunque dicen sus vasallos que los mismos españoles lo mataron, y por las partes bajas le metieron la espada*'; Acosta, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 588 — '*Al rey Motezuma hallaron los mexicanos muerto, y pasado, según dicen, de puñaladas; y es su opinión que aquella noche le mataron los españoles con otros principales*'; *Códice Ramírez*, p. 199 — '*. . . dicen que le dieron una pedrada, mas aunque se la dieron no le podían hacer ningún mal porque había ya más de cinco horas que estaba muerto, y no faltó quien dijo que porque no le viesen la herida le habían metido una espada por la parte baja*'; Orozco y Berra, *Hist. Ant. y de la Conquista*, IV, 436 — '*Sea cual fuere el fine con que hemos discurrido, lo cierto fué que Cortés mandó dar garrote a los reyes y señores que en su poder estaban*'; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, 51 — '*hallaron los mexicanos muertos a Moctezuma y al Gobernador de Tlatilulco — echados fuera de las casas reales. . . .*' Reports of Spanish origin are given by Díaz del Castillo, *Hist. Verdadera*, II, 83 — '*. . . y le dieron tres pedradas, una en la cabeza, otra en un brazo y otra en una pierna, y puesto que le rogaban se curase y comiese y le decían sobre ello palabras, no quiso, antes cuando no nos catamos vinieron a decir que era muerto*'; López de Gómara, *Hist. de la Nueva España*, I, 301 — '*que de una [pedrada] que le acertó en las sienes le derribaron y mataron sus propios vasallos*'; Cortés, *Cartas de Rel.*, I, 233 — '*. . . le dieron una pedrada los suyos en la cabeza, tan grande, que de allí a tres días murió*'; Vázquez de Tapia, p. 39 — '*. . . tanto que no le dieron con una piedra tirada con honda, encima de la frente, que luego se sintió mortal*'; Aguilar, *op. cit.*, p. 77 — '*. . . entre otras piedras que venían desmandadas, una rodada como una pelota, la cual dió a Moctezuma estando entre los dos metido, entre las sienes y cayó*'; *ibid.*, p. 78 — '*Moctezuma herido en la cabeza, dió el alma a cuya era . . . y en el aposento donde él estaba había otros muy grandes señores detenidos con él, a los cuales el dicho Cortés con parecer de los capitanes mandó matar, sin dejar ninguno.*' Besides these, we have the opinion of Clavijero, which we consider the most reasonable (*Hist. Ant. de México*, II, 211) — '*Los historiadores mexicanos atribuyen su muerte a los españoles y los españoles a los mexicanos. — Yo no puedo creer que los españoles se decidiesen a quitar la vida a un rey a quien debían tantos favores y de cuya muerte sólo podían esperar grandes males.*' Muñoz Camargo, *Hist. de Tlaxcala*, p. 234, says that he died baptized and that his godfathers were Cortés and Alvarado." — Chimalpahin (*op. cit.*, p. 191 — *quimictique Españoles y Motecuçomatzin quipuochmecaillachitque*, the Spaniards killed Moctezuma, strangling him), agrees with the source used by Orozco y Berra.

[2] The corresponding Spanish text has, *hic apud, galapago* — fresh water tortoise. According to Ignacio Alcocer, *Apuntes sobre la antigua México-Tenochtitlan* (Tacubaya, D.F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1935), p. 88, it was where now is "*la esquina de Escalerillas con Tacuba.*"

[3] Corresponding Spanish text: [illegible]. — The version of this report, in Anales, *loc. cit.*, differs considerably from that of the Florentine Codex.

Caso, *op. cit.*, identifies Copulco (Copolco) with a *barrio adjacent* to Tlatilulco, bounded now N. by Calle de Mosqueta; E., Gabriel Leyva; S., Moctezuma; and W., Lerdo (formerly a canal).

x 618 565 —who also had their calpulli as we have seen—obliges us to think of differences in rank between the calpullis themselves: a thing furthermore which we had already encountered on speaking of the division of labor by calpullis (see p. 49). We can obtain data to complement the above and see what the situation was in this respect. [43] The most noble clan would undoubtedly be the clan to which the rulers of the entire Tenochca group belonged, who were always related by marriage (see the Table of Tenochcan rulers), and of this still more noble would be the tlaxilacalli of the very tlatoani; and even more, the most noble family would be the tlatoani's own family.

We have seen that not all the calpullis had a calmecac ("place of the lineage of the house" and a school for nobles) but that there were only six. Acosta also confirms this for us (14). The meaning of this is very clear: certainly these six calpullis were more noble than the other calpullis. One of them would be that one already cited as the most noble; but the five remaining would be others in a position surely inferior but which followed it in rank. The rest /p. 78/ of the clans would surely have an inferior position to these five clans, forming as a whole a true pyramid of clans of different categories, rank or nobility.

We are also told that each one of the four large "wards" had a chief, as did each one of the calpullis (15). As we have seen also that the chiefs of each campan were related to the other members of their campan (see p. 32) we can suspect the existence of a calpulli more noble than the others in each campan—four in all—which very probably were the four which had a calmecac. What is more, the campan where the most noble calpulli of the whole Tenochcan group was, would surely be more noble than the other three. The Tecuhtlis possibly were the most noble members of Tenochtitlan of each campan, who were paid tribute by the members of the Tenochcan group, but were foreign to their clan, like the tlacatecatl, the tlacochcalcatl, the tlatoani, etc., whose functions were very different but were connected to the life of the whole of the Tenochcan community.

---

14. Acosta, José de, p. 89.

15. Torquemada, I, p. 294.

ordered it, they gave back many persons, but they still 648
remained rich, both in gold and mantles, cotton cloth,
salt and slaves. Besides this Cortés made them and the
people of Cholula friends, and, from what I have since
seen and ascertained, that friendship has never been broken.

Furthermore Cortés ordered all the priests and Caciques
to bring back the people to the city, and to hold their
markets and fairs, and not to have any fear, for no harm
would be done to them. They replied that within five
days the city would be fully peopled again, for at that time
nearly all the inhabitants were in hiding. They said it [643] ●
was necessary that Cortés should appoint a Cacique for
them, for their ruler was one of those who had died in the
Court, so he asked them to whom the office ought to
go, and they said to the brother [of the late Cacique]
so Cortés at once appointed him to be Governor, until
he should receive other orders.

In addition to this, as soon as he saw the city was 797
reinhabited, and their markets were carried on in safety,
he ordered all the priests, captains and other chieftains of
that city to assemble, and explained to them very clearly
all the matters concerning our holy faith, and told them
that they must cease worshipping idols, and must no longer
sacrifice human beings or eat their flesh, nor rob one
another, nor commit the offences which they were accustomed to commit, and that they could see how their Idols
had deceived them, and were evil things not speaking
the truth; let them remember the lies which they told
only five days ago when seven persons had been sacrificed
to them and they promised to give them victory, therefore
as all they tell to the priests and to them is altogether evil,
he begged them to destroy the Idols and break them in
pieces. That if they did not wish to do it themselves
we would do it for them. He also ordered them to whitewash a temple, so that we might set up a cross there.

648 nephew of the Great Montezuma, and he begged us to have the goodness to wait until he arrived.

He did not tarry long, for he soon arrived with greater pomp and splendour than we had ever beheld in a Mexican [493] Prince, for he came in a litter richly worked in green feathers, with many silver borderings, and rich stones set in bosses made out of the finest gold. Eight Chieftains, who, it was said, were all Lords of Towns, bore the litter on their shoulders. When they came near to the house where Cortés was quartered, the Chieftains assisted ● [643] Cacamatzin to descend from the litter, and they swept the ground, and removed the straws where he had to pass, and when they came before our Captain they made him a deep reverence, and Cacamatzin said—

"Malinche, here we have come, I and these Chieftains to place ourselves at your service, and to give you all that you may need for yourself and your companions and to place you in your home, which is our city, for so the Great Montezuma our Prince has ordered us to do, and he asks your pardon that he did not come with us himself, but it is on account of ill-health that he did not do so, and not from want of very good will which he bears towards you."

When our Captain and all of us, beheld such pomp and majesty in those chiefs, especially in the nephew of Montezuma, we considered it a matter of the greatest importance, and said among ourselves, if this Cacique bears himself with such dignity, what will the Great Montezuma do?

When Cacamatzin had delivered his speech, Cortés embraced him, and gave many caresses to him and all the other Chieftains, and gave him three stones which are called Margaritas, which have within them many markings of different colours, and to the other chieftains he gave blue glass beads, and he told them that he thanked them got down from his litter, and those great Caciques 648 supported him with their arms beneath a marvellously rich canopy of green coloured feathers with much gold and silver embroidery and with pearls and chalchihuites suspended from a sort of bordering, which was wonderful to look at. The Great Montezuma was richly attired 292 according to his usage, and he was shod with sandals 643 [*cotoras*], for so they call what they wear on their feet, the soles were of gold and the upper part adorned with precious stones. The four Chieftains who supported his arms were also richly clothed according to their usage, in garments which were apparently held ready for them on the road to enable them to accompany their prince, for they did not appear in such attire when they came to receive us. Besides these four Chieftains, there were four other great Caciques, who supported the canopy over their heads, and many other Lords who walked before the Great Montezuma, sweeping the ground where he would tread and spreading cloths on it, so that he should not tread on the earth. Not one of these chieftains dared even to think [576] of looking him in the face, but kept their eyes lowered with great reverence, except those four relations, his nephews, who supported him with their arms.

When Cortés was told that the Great Montezuma was 576 approaching, and he saw him coming, he dismounted 643 from his horse, and when he was near Montezuma, they 648 simultaneously paid great reverence to one another. Montezuma bade him welcome and our Cortés replied through Doña Marina wishing him very good health. And it seems to me that Cortés, through Doña Marina, offered him his right hand, and Montezuma did not wish to take it, but he did give his hand to Cortés and then Cortés brought out a necklace which he had ready at hand, made of glass stones, which I have already said are called Margaritas, which have within them many patterns of

576 diverse colours, these were strung on a cord of gold and
● 643 with musk so that it should have a sweet scent, and he
648 placed it round the neck of the Great Montezuma and when he had so placed it he was going to embrace him, and those great Princes who accompained Montezuma held back Cortés by the arm so that he should not embrace him, for they considered it an indignity.

648 Then Cortés through the mouth of Doña Marina told him that now his heart rejoiced at having seen such a great Prince, and that he took it as a great honour that he had come in person to meet him and had frequently shown him such favour.

Then Montezuma spoke other words of politeness to him, and told two of his nephews who supported his arms, the Lord of Texcoco and the Lord of Coyoacan, to go with us and show us to our quarters, and Montezuma with his other two relations, the Lord of Cuitlahuac[1] and the Lord of Tacuba who accompanied him, returned to the city, and all those grand companies of Caciques and chieftains who had come with him returned in his train. As they
[576] turned back after their Prince we stood watching them and
000 observed how they all marched with their eyes fixed on the ground without looking at him, keeping close to the wall, following him with great reverence. Thus space was made for us to enter the streets of Mexico, without being so much crowded. But who could now count the multitude of men and women and boys who were in the streets and on the azoteas, and in canoes on the canals, who had come out to see us. It was indeed wonderful, and, now that I am writing about it, it all comes before my eyes as though it had happened but yesterday. Coming to think it over it seems to be a great mercy that our Lord Jesus Christ was pleased to give us grace and courage to dare to enter

---

[1] Cuedlabaca in the text.

000 And as we went along we spoke of the good manners and breeding which he showed in everything, and that we should show him in all ways the greatest respect, doffing our quilted caps when we passed before him, and this we always did, but let us leave this subject here, and pass on.

CHAPTER XCI.

Of the manner and appearance of the Great Montezuma and what a great Prince he was.

● 643 The Great Montezuma was about forty years old, of good
height and well proportioned, slender, and spare of flesh,
not very swarthy, but of the natural colour and shade of
[302] an Indian. He did not wear his hair long, but so as just
to cover his ears, his scanty black beard was well shaped
and thin. His face was somewhat long, but cheerful, and
he had good eyes and showed in his appearance and
manner both tenderness and, when necessary, gravity. He
[515] was very neat and clean and bathed once every day in
the afternoon.[1] He had many women as mistresses,
[595 daughters of Chieftains, and he had two great Cacicas as
837] his legitimate wives, and when he had intercourse with
them it was so secretly that no one knew anything
about it, except some of his servants. He was free
[515] from unnatural offences. The clothes that he wore one
day, he did not put on again until four days later. He
643 had over two hundred chieftains in his guard, in other
644 rooms close to his own, not that all were meant to converse
with him, but only one or another, and when they went
to speak to him they were obliged to take off their rich
mantles and put on others of little worth, but they had

---

[1] Blotted out in the original: "about the hour of (Ave Maria) evening prayer."—G. G.

to be clean, and they had to enter barefoot with their 643
eyes lowered to the ground, and not to look up in his 644
face. And they made him three obeisances, and said: "Lord, my Lord, my Great Lord," before they came up to him, and then they made their report and with a few words he dismissed them, and on taking leave they did not turn their backs, but kept their faces toward him with their eyes to the ground, and they did not turn their backs until they left the room. I noticed another thing, that when other great chiefs came from distant lands about disputes or business, when they reached the apartments of the Great Montezuma, they had to come barefoot and with poor mantles, and they might not enter directly into the Palace, but had to loiter about a little on one side of the Palace door, for to enter hurriedly was considered to be disrespectful.

For each meal, over thirty different dishes were prepared 643
by his cooks according to their ways and usage, and they 252
placed small pottery brasiers beneath the dishes so that they should not get cold. They prepared more than three hundred plates of the food that Montezuma was going to eat, and more than a thousand for the guard. When he was going to eat, Montezuma would sometimes go out with his chiefs and stewards, and they would point out to him which dish was best, and of what birds and other things it was composed, and as they advised him, so he would eat, but it was not often that he would go out to see the food, and then merely as a pastime.

I have heard it said that they were wont to cook for him 643
the flesh of young boys, but as he had such a variety of 252
dishes, made of so many things, we could not succeed in 262
seeing if they were of human flesh or of other things, for they daily cooked fowls, turkeys, pheasants, native partridges, quail, tame and wild ducks, venison, wild boar, reed birds, pigeons, hares and rabbits, and many sorts of birds and

● 643 other things which are bred in this country, and they
252 are so numerous that I cannot finish naming them in a
262 hurry; so we had no insight into it, but I know for certain
that after our Captain censured the sacrifice of human
beings, and the eating of their flesh, he ordered that such
food should not be prepared for him thenceforth.

643 Let us cease speaking of this and return to the way
264 things were served to him at meal times. It was in this
[374] way: if it was cold they made up a large fire of live coals
of a firewood made from the bark of trees which did not
give off any smoke, and the scent of the bark from which
the fire was made was very fragrant, and so that it should
not give off more heat than he required, they placed in
[353] front of it a sort of screen adorned with figures of idols
worked in gold. He was seated on a low stool, soft and
[352] richly worked, and the table, which was also low, was
made in the same style as the seats, and on it they placed
the table cloths of white cloth and some rather long
napkins of the same material. Four very beautiful
[415] cleanly women brought water for his hands in a sort of
deep basin which they call "xicales,"[1] and they held
others like plates below to catch the water, and they
brought him towels. And two other women brought him
tortilla bread, and as soon as he began to eat they
placed before him a sort of wooden screen painted over
with gold, so that no one should watch him eating.
Then the four women stood aside, and four great
chieftains who were old men came and stood beside
them, and with these Montezuma now and then conversed,
and asked them questions, and as a great favour he would
give to each of these elders a dish of what to him tasted
best. They say that these elders were his near relations,
and were his counsellors and judges of law suits, and the

---

[1] Gourds.

dishes and food which Montezuma gave them they ate 643
standing up with much reverence and without looking at 264
his face. He was served on Cholula earthenware either [416]
red or black. While he was at his meal the men of his
guard who were in the rooms near to that of Montezuma,
never dreamed of making any noise or speaking aloud.
They brought him fruit of all the different kinds that
the land produced, but he ate very little of it. From 415
time to time they brought him, in cup-shaped vessels 832
of pure gold, a certain drink made from cacao which 272
they said he took when he was going to visit his wives,
and at the time he took no heed of it, but what I did see
was that they brought over fifty great jugs of good cacao
frothed up, and he drank of that, and the women served this
drink to him with great reverence.

Sometimes at meal-times there were present some very 522
ugly humpbacks, very small of stature and their bodies 732
almost broken in half, who are their jesters, and other
Indians, who must have been buffoons, who told him witty
sayings, and others who sang and danced, for Montezuma
was fond of pleasure and song, and to these he ordered to
be given what was left of the food and the jugs of cacao.
Then the same four women removed the table cloths, and
with much ceremony they brought water for his hands.
And Montezuma talked with those four old chieftains
about things that interested him, and they took leave of
him with the great reverence in which they held him, and
he remained to repose.

As soon as the Great Montezuma had dined, all the men 643
of the Guard had their meal and as many more of the
other house servants, and it seems to me that they brought
out over a thousand dishes of the food of which I have
spoken, and then over two thousand jugs of cacao all
frothed up, as they make it in Mexico, and a limitless
quantity of fruit, so that with his women and female

● 643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food
for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the
Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who
had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I
say that there would be so much to write about, each thing
by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we
stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the
great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I
must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back
and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at
262 table eating as I have described, there were waiting on
643 him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas,
kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and
these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on
plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought
him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with
other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so
they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There
[276] were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and
[314] gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs
which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating,
after they had danced before him and sung and the table
was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those
tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell
asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and
go back to our story. I remember that at that time his
steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of
[651 Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that
[212] was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made
289] of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house
full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the
344 accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte-
411

σʊʊ Temple of Huichilobos, and that he wished to consult the Great Montezuma and have his approval. For this purpose he sent Jerónimo de Aguilar and the Doña Marina as messengers, and with them went our Captain's small page named Orteguilla, who already understood something of the language. When Montezuma knew his wishes he
● 643 sent to say that we were welcome to go; on the other hand, as he was afraid that we might do some dishonour to his Idols, he determined to go with us himself with many of his chieftains. He came out from his Palace in his rich litter, but when half the distance had been traversed and he was near some oratories, he stepped out of the litter, for he thought it a great affront to his idols to go to their house and temple in that manner. Some of the great chieftains supported him with their arms, and the tribal lords went in front of him carrying two staves like sceptres held on high, which was the sign that the Great Montezuma was coming. [(When he went in his
[293] litter he carried a wand half of gold and half of wood, which was held up like a wand of justice). So he went on and ascended the great Cue accompanied by many priests, and he began to burn incense and perform other ceremonies to Huichilobos.

σʊʊ Let us leave Montezuma, who had gone ahead as I have said, and return to Cortés and our captains and soldiers, who according to our custom both night and day were armed, and as Montezuma was used to see us so armed when we went to visit him, he did not look upon it as anything new. I say this because our Captain and all those who had horses went to Tlaltelolco on horseback, and nearly all of us soldiers were fully equipped, and many Caciques whom Montezuma had sent for that purpose
443 went in our company. When we arrived at the great market place, called Tlaltelolco, we were astounded at the number of people and the quantity of merchandise

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

for you, and now again your vassals and Captains have become insolent, and hold secret consultations stating that you wish us to be killed. I do not wish to begin a war on this account nor to destroy this city, I am willing to forgive it all, if silently and without raising any disturbance you will come with us to our quarters, where you will be as well served and attended to as though you were in your own house, but if you cry out or make any disturbance you will immediately be killed by these my Captains, whom I brought solely for this purpose." When Montezuma heard this he was terrified and dumfounded, and replied that he had never ordered his people to take arms against us, and that he would at once send to summon his Captains so that the truth should be known, and he would chastise them, [643 293] and at that very moment he took from his arm and wrist the sign and seal of Huichilobos, which was only done when he gave an important and weighty command which was to be carried out at once. With regard to being taken prisoner and leaving his Palace against his will, he said that he was not the person to whom such an order could be given, and that it was not his wish to go. Cortés replied to him with very good arguments and Montezuma answered him with even better, showing that he ought not to leave his house. In this way more than half an hour was spent over talk, and when Juan Velásquez de Leon and the other Captains saw that they were wasting time over it and could not longer await the moment when they should remove him from his house and hold him a prisoner, they spoke to Cortés somewhat angrily and said, "what is the good of your making so many words, let us either take him prisoner, or stab him, tell him once more that if he cries out or makes an uproar we will kill him, for it is better at once to save our lives or to lose them," and as Juan Velásquez said this

000 delighted to be here some days with us of his own free will and not by force, and that when he wished for anything he would tell them so, and that they must not excite themselves nor the City, nor were they to take it to heart, for what had happened about his being there was agreeable to his Huichilobos, and certain priests who knew had told him so, for they had spoken to the Idol about it. In this way which I have now related the capture of the Great Montezuma was effected.

● 643 There, where he remained, he had his service and his women and his baths in which he bathed himself, and twenty great chiefs always stayed in his company holding their ancient offices, as well as his councillors and captains, and he stayed there a prisoner without showing any anger at it, and Ambassadors from distant lands came there with their suites, and brought him his tribute, and he carried on his important business. I call to mind that when Great
643 Caciques from distant lands came before him about
695 boundaries or towns, or other business of that sort, however great a chief he might be, he took off his rich mantle and put on one of hennequen of little worth, and he had to come barefoot, and when he came to the apartments he did not pass straight in, but on one side, and when he came before the Great Montezuma he cast his eyes down to the ground, and before approaching him he made three bows and said "Lord, my Lord, my great Lord," and then
[212] he brought the suit or other difficulty about which he desired to consult him, drawn and painted on hennequen cloths, and with some very thin and delicate sticks he pointed out
[693] the origin of the suit. Two old men who were Great Caciques stood near Montezuma, and when they thoroughly understood the pleas, those judges told Montezuma the rights of the case, and with a few words he settled it, and gave judgment as to whom the lands or towns should belong. The litigants retired without making any reply

and without turning their backs and with three obeisances 643
they retired to the hall, and as soon as they left the 695
presence of Montezuma they put on their rich garments and took walks through Mexico.

I will not say anything more at present about this imprisonment, and will relate how the messengers whom Montezuma sent with his sign and seal to summon the Captains who had killed our soldiers, brought them before him as prisoners, and what he said to them I do not know, but he sent them on to Cortés, so that he might do justice to them, and their confession was taken when Montezuma was not present and they confessed that what I have already stated was true, that their Prince had ordered them to wage war and to extract tribute, and that if any Teules should appear in defence of the towns, they too should be attacked or killed. When Cortés heard this confession he sent to inform Montezuma how it implicated him in the affair, and Montezuma made all the excuses he could, and our captain sent him word that he believed it [the confession] himself, but that although he [Montezuma] deserved punishment in conformity with the ordinances of our King, to the effect that any person causing others, whether guilty or innocent, to be killed, shall die for it, yet he was so fond of him and wished him so well, that even if that crime lay at his door, he, Cortés, would pay the penalty with his own life sooner than allow Montezuma's to pass away. With all this that he [Cortés] sent to tell him, he [Montezuma] felt anxious, and without any further discussion Cortés sentenced those captains to death and to be burned in front of Montezuma's palace. This sentence was promptly carried out, and, so that there could be no obstruction while they were being burned, Cortés ordered shackles to be put on Montezuma himself, and when this was done Montezuma roared [with rage], and if before this he was scared, he was then much more 000 [202]

000 so. After the burning was over our Cortés with five of our captains went to Montezuma's apartment and Cortés himself took off the fetters, and he spoke such loving words to him that his anger soon passed off, for our Cortés told him that he not only regarded him as a brother, but much more, and that, as he was already Lord and King of so many towns and provinces, if it were possible he would make him Lord of many more countries as time went on, such as he had not been able to subdue, and which did not now obey him, and he told him that if he now wished to go to his Palace, that he would give him leave to go. Cortés told him this through our interpreters and while Cortés was saying it the tears apparently sprang to
● 643 Montezuma's eyes. He answered with great courtesy, that he thanked him for it, (but he well knew that Cortés's speech was mere words,) and that now at present it was better for him to stay there a prisoner, for there was danger, as his chieftains were numerous, and his nephews and relations came every day to him to say that it would be a good thing to attack us and free him from prison, that as soon as they saw him outside they might drive him to it [to attack us]. He did not wish to see revolutions in his city, but if he did not comply with their wishes possibly they would want to set up another Prince in his place, and so he was putting those thoughts out of their heads by saying that Huichilobos had sent him word that he should
600 remain a prisoner. (From what we understood, and there is no doubt about it, Cortés had told Aguilar to tell Montezuma secretly, that although Malinche wished to release him from his imprisonment, that the rest of our captains and soldiers would not agree to it.) When he heard this reply, Cortés threw his arms round him and embraced him and said, "It is not in vain Señor Montezuma that I care for you as I care for myself." Then Montezuma asked Cortés that a Spanish page named Orteguilla who already knew

CHAPTER XCIX.

How we launched the two sloops, and how the Great Montezuma said that he wished to go hunting, and went in the sloops to a rocky Island[1] where there were many deer and much other game, for no one went hunting there under pain of very severe punishment.

600 WHEN the two sloops were finished building and had been launched, and the masts and rigging had been set up and adorned with the Royal and Imperial banners, and the sailors had been got ready to navigate them, they went out in them both rowing and sailing, and they sailed very
643 well. When Montezuma heard of it, he said to Cortés
224 that he wished to go hunting on a rocky Island standing in the lake which was preserved so that no one dared to hunt there, however great a chief he might be,
600 under pain of death. Cortés replied that he was very welcome to go, but he must remember what he had told him on the former occasion when he went to visit his Idols, that to raise any disturbances was more than his life was worth; [moreover] he could go in the sloops, as it was better sailing in them than in the canoes and pirogues however large they might be. Montezuma said that he would be delighted to sail in the sloop that was the swiftest, and he took with him many lords and chieftains, and advised his huntsmen to follow in canoes and pirogues. A son of Montezuma and many Caciques went in the other sloop. Then Cortés ordered Velásquez de Leon who was captain of the Guard and Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid, Alonzo de Ávila with two hundred soldiers, to accompany Montezuma, and to remember the great responsibility he was placing on them in looking after him, and as all those Captains whom I have named were very alert, they took on board all the soldiers I have spoken about, and four

---

[1] The *Peñon de Tepepolco or del Marques.*

bronze cannon and all the powder that we possessed, 880
and our gunners, named Mesa and Arvenga, and they put up a highly decorated awning as a protection from the weather, and Montezuma and his chieftains went under it. As at that time there was a strong breeze blowing, and the sailors were delighted to please and content Montezuma, they worked the sails so well that they went flying along, and the canoes which held his huntsmen and chieftains were left far behind in spite of the large number of rowers they carried. Montezuma was charmed, and said that it was a great art this of
combining sails and oars together. So he arrived at the 643
Peñol, which was not very far off, and he [Montezuma] 224
killed all the game he wanted, deer and hares and rabbits,
and returned very contented to the city. When we arrived 880
near Mexico, Pedro de Alvarado and Juan Velásquez de Leon and the other Captains ordered the cannon to be discharged, and this delighted Montezuma, and as we saw him so frank and kind, we treated him with the respect in which the Kings of these countries are held, and he behaved in the same manner to us. If I were to relate the traits and qualities that he showed as a great Prince, and the reverence and service that all the Lords of New Spain paid to him, I should never come to an end. There was not a thing that he ordered to be brought that was
not immediately there, even if it were flying. I say this 231
because one day three of our Captains and some of us soldiers were in Montezuma's presence, when by chance a hawk swooped down through the halls which were like corridors, after a quail, for near the houses and palaces where Montezuma was confined, there were some tame pigeons and quails kept for breeding purposes by the Indian steward (whose duty it was to keep the rooms swept) so as to give himself importance.

When our Captains saw the hawk swoop and carry off 880

and Montezuma released, and that some of them should 000
proclaim themselves as Kings of Mexico, as I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER C.

How the nephews of the great Montezuma went about assembling the other Lords and persuading them to come to Mexico and free the great Montezuma from his imprisonment and drive us out of the City and kill us.

As Cacamatzin, lord of the City of Texcoco, which after 631
Mexico is the largest and most important city that there is 643 ●
in New Spain, knew that his uncle, Montezuma, had been 721
imprisoned for many days, and that we were taking the upper hand in every way that was possible, and also got to know that we had opened the chamber where the great treasure of his grandfather Axayaca was kept, but had not taken anything from it, he determined, before we could take possession of the treasure, to call together all the Lords of Texcoco, who were his vassals, and the lord of Coyoacan, who was his cousin and Montezuma's nephew, and the lord of Tacuba, and the lord of Iztapalapa, and another great Cacique who was lord of Matalçingo, who was very nearly related to Montezuma and of whom it was even said that he was the rightful heir to the kingdom and lordship of Mexico, and who was a chieftain known among the Indians for his personal bravery. While he [Cacamatzin] continued to negotiate with these and other Mexican chieftains that on a given day they should come with all their forces and attack us, it seems that the Cacique whom I have said was known for his personal bravery (whose name I do not know), said that if he [Cacamatzin] would assure to him the Kingship of Mexico, to which he was the rightful heir, that he and all his relations, and the people of the province called Matalçingo,

631 would be the first to take up arms and turn us out of
643 Mexico, or not leave any one of us alive. It appears that
721 Cacamatzin replied that the Chieftainship of Mexico belonged to him and that he himself must be King, for he was the nephew of Montezuma; and that if he [the Lord of Matalçingo] did not wish to come, that they would make war on us without his help or that of his people, for it seems that Cacamatzin had got ready all the Lords and towns already named by me, and had already arranged the day on which they were to fall on Mexico, and that the chieftains of his faction who were then in the city would facilitate their entry.

721 While these negotiations were going on, Montezuma knew all about them from his powerful relation [the lord of Matalçingo] who would not come to an agreement with Cacamatzin, and to be more sure of it, Montezuma sent to summon all the Caciques and chieftains of that City [Texcoco], and they told him how Cacamatzin was going about persuading them all with words and gifts to join him in an attack on us, and to free his uncle. As Montezuma was prudent and did not wish to see his city rise up in arms or riots, he told Cortés what was happening. Our Captain and all of us soldiers knew a good deal about this disturbance, but not so fully as Montezuma now detailed it. The advice that Cortés now gave him was that he should give us his Mexican followers and we would fall on Texcoco and capture or destroy that city and its neighbourhood. As that advice did not suit Montezuma, Cortés sent to tell Cacamatzin that he should cease his preparations for war, which would be the means of his destruction, for he wished to have him as a friend, and that all that he could do for him personally he would do, and many other compliments. Now Cacamatzin was a young man who found many others, who shared his opinions, ready to support him in the war, so he sent to tell Cortés,

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

blessed Mother that helped us. To return to our story, the gist of his message was, that he would come in spite of us and of his uncle to speak to us and to kill us. 721

When the great Montezuma heard that insolent reply, he was greatly angered, and at once sent to summon six of his most trusted captains. And he gave them his seal, and [643] he also gave them some golden jewels, and ordered them to go to Texcoco, and secretly to show that seal to certain Captains and relations of his, who were on bad terms with Cacamatzin on account of his haughtiness, and so to manage that they should make prisoners of Cacamatzin and those who were in his confidence, and bring them before him at once. When those Captains had departed, and it was understood in Texcoco what it was that Montezuma had ordered, as Cacamatzin was greatly disliked, he was taken prisoner in his own palace while he was discussing the subject of the war with his confederates, and they brought five of them as prisoners in his company.

As that city stands close to the lake, they got ready a [501] great pirogue with awnings, and they placed Cacamatzin and the other prisoners in it and with a great crew of rowers they brought them to Mexico. When they had disembarked, they placed Cacamatzin in a richly adorned litter fit for a king such as he was, and with the greatest show of respect they brought him before Montezuma.

It seems that in his interview with Montezuma, he was even more insolent than he had been before, and Montezuma knew of the plots he had made to raise himself to the lordship of Mexico, about which he learnt further complete details from the other prisoners who had been brought to him. If Montezuma was angry with his nephew before, he was now doubly so, and he promptly sent him to our Captain to be held as a prisoner, and the other prisoners he ordered to be set free.

Cortés went at once to the palace to Montezuma's

701 (Cortés' daring and successful seizure of the Mexican chieftain [648] was easier than it is generally supposed, since the tribe was not prepared for it, but only for outside enemies.)[16]

712 It is equally untrue that any Mexican "garrisons" were main- 701 tained among conquered and subjected tribes.[17] The military power of the Mexicans was preserved at home, in a latent state, so to say, but still, as we shall hereafter see, ready to sally forth at a signal from the council of chiefs directing their affairs. But this presupposed, on the part of the tribe, systematic *training*, proper *armament*, and a peculiar *organization*.

868 At an early age the boy was taught the use of the bow and arrow in fishing and hunting;[18] also the use of the dart or javelin. The *chase*, both on land and water, was an introduction to the stern duty of *war*.

---

[16] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, chapter 85. "All the Spaniards forthwith returned to "their palace, together with a great number of lords of the city, parents and friends of "the King, which sought to read from his countenance whether he wished them to free "him again). The same author (Relacion XIIIa. "The nobility, and all the military "chiefs of Mexico, dumbfounded by this occurrence, returned to their houses"). Gomara, who (Vedia, I, p. 345. "Corte y guarda de Moteczuma,") mentions 3,000 body guards, forgets them completely (p. 351) when he relates Montezuma's capture. Cortés (Carta-segunda. Vedia, I, p. 27) does not speak of any guard being with the chief. Neither does A. de Tápia. Col. de Doc. II. p. 560.) The capture of Montezuma did ● [643] not, however, have the desired effect. He was not as powerful as the Spaniards believed, and his influence vanished as soon as he was a prisoner, and therefore actually disqualified for office.

[17] The bodies of Mexican warriors which Cortés may have met at different places outside of Mexico when he moved upon that tribe the second time, were not garrisoning those places, but simply corps sent out specially against the Spaniards. Neither at Cempoal, nor at Quiahuiztlan, had he met garrisons of Mexican troops. In the fight wherein Juan de Escalante was killed, *natives of the country*, and *not Mexicans*, opposed him. Quauhpopoca *was not a Mexican governor*, but "chief of that place called "Almeria" (Cortés, Carta Seg., Vedia, I, p. 26), "a vassal of Montezuma" (A. de Tápia, p. 579), "chief of Nahutlan" (Gomara, p. 354) (Clavigero, lib. VIII, cap. XXX).

Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, Huitzilopochco, were not held by Mexican warriors when Cortes passed through those places. On the route from Cempoal to the confines of Tlaxcallan, through a country overrun formerly by the Mexicans, and tributary to them, there was not a single specifically Mexican stronghold, and no other Mexicans or Aztecs were met by Cortés than messengers and collectors of tribute; without any armed retinue whatever. No Mexican force hovered about the confines of Tlaxcallan, their most dangerous enemy, or "occupied" Chalco, the most warlike and unruly tribe of the valley, which Mexico had overpowered. Only the fear of the murderous forays which the Mexicans might execute, from their almost invincible stronghold in the lagune, held those tribes in subjection; and no permanent military occupation. Tápia [651] says: "In the conquered districts they put stewards and collectors, and although their "own chiefs commanded the people, they were below Mexican power." (p. 579, Col. de Doc., II.)

[18] A. de Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de "l'Amérique." Ed. 1816, 8vo, tom., II, p. 313). Also, "Raccolta di Mendoza," in Lord Kingsborough.

714 an inch thick, up to one and one-half inches, and therefore strong enough to resist an arrow-shot, or even the dart at long range. This was the cotton-armour subsequently adopted by the Spaniards under the name of "Escaupil" ("Ichcahuipilli").[58] Sometimes even the limbs were encased in such quilted armour,[59] and the outside of the "ichcahuipil" was adorned with feathers and plates of gold or silver. The *feet* were protected by leather soles or moccasin-like shoes ("cactli," "cotaras"), but the use of them was not general.[60] Warriors of merit especially, inserted their *heads*

---

[291] "worn over the head while travelling, of various colors, and variously adorned, with "the ends hanging downwards, one in front and the other behind." It was common to the aborigines of Mexico and Central America, and is represented on the sculptures of Palenqué, of Copan, and of Chichen-Itza. The tables of Durán give, perhaps, the most reliable picture of these costumes.

[58] "Ichcahuipilli" derives from "Ichcatl," cotton, and "huepil," jacket. Alvarado, in his second letter to Cortés, dated 28 July, 1524 (Vedia. Vol. I), mentions an ichcahuipil used by Indians of Guatemala, which was three inches thick and reached as far down as the ankle: "porque venian tan armados, que el que caia en el suelo no se po-"dia levantar; y con sus armas coseletes de tres dedos de algodon, y hasta en los "pies. . . . ." (p. 462.)

[59] There are several representations of such protection of the thighs, and also of the arms, especially in the splendid work of Lord Kingsborough, taken from the Mendoza codex. The entire costume, from the neck to the knee, seems to be of one piece. We have no accurate *description*, however, of them. It is doubtful whether they terminated into upper "leggings," or whether into a frock-like continuation, reaching from the girdle to the knee. Perhaps both; at least there are traces of both. (Anonymous Conqueror, p. 374. Clavigero, Lib. VII, cap. XXIII.) The absence of the "Ichcahuipil" was not, however, always a sign of low rank. Some warriors of particular merit even went to war almost naked (See Humboldt, "Vues de Cordillères," Tab. XIV, fig. 4), and Herrera (Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 257, speaking of the natives of Tepeaca, who were subject to Mexico: "and the most valiant ones went only in breech-cloth, painting their naked body black and red"). There was, consequently, no absolute uniformity and uniform distinction in dress and armament, and this was still increased by the variety of customs among the numerous tribes which assisted the Mexicans in war, each tribe having its own manner of dress, and keeping separate on the battlefield. A Mexican army must have been a rather strange, motley crowd. Still there was, in all probability, less variety than among the Peruvian warlike bodies. Of the latter's variegated array the report of Francisco de Xeres, secretary of Pizarro, gives a good illustration (Vedia, vol. II).

[60] "*Cactli*," corrupted into "catle," is rendered by Molina (II, p. 11) as "shoes, or sandals." Torquemada says (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 450, vol. I): "the King wore "golden shoes, which they call cacles, and are after the fashion of those of the ancient "Romans, adorned with much jewelry, the soles fastened with cords." (Idem: Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 385) "they gave to him cotaras or sandals . . . ." Gomara (Conquista, etc., p. 322), in the list of presents sent by Cortés to the Emperor, mentions: "many shoes like as of grass, made of deer-hides, some with golden thread, and the "soles of certain white and blue stones . . . ," "other shoes, six pairs, of leather "of different color, adorned with gold or silver or pearls." The question is, whether they were moccasins or sandals. The sculptures of Palenqué show an approach to

[645] either. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 214), in speaking of the distinctions of dress, says: "And "thus it was ordained, first: that the Kings should not appear in public, except in ur-"gent cases; that the King alone might wear a crown in the city, but that in war all the "great chiefs and valiant captains might wear crowns also, and royal tokens . . . .

into wooden forms, intermediate between masks and helmets, imitating heads of ferocious beasts like tigers, lions, wolves, also snakes, and covered with the skins of these animals.[61] The principal captains and war-chiefs were distinguished by their wide and long mantles,[62] by the cut and tress of their hair,[63] and by towering bushes of green feathers on the so-called "helmets" protecting the head.[64] 714

"It was ordained that the King and his coadjutor, Tlacaelel, should alone wear shoes "in the royal house, and that none of the great chiefs might enter the palace with shoes "on, under penalty of death; and they alone could wear shoes in the city, except those "who had distinguished themselves in war, which for their merit, and in token of their "bravery, were permitted to wear light and common sandals, because the gilded and "painted ones belonged to the great chiefs alone." We would suggest that the "cactli" or "cotaras" were half-moccasins, similar to slippers. It is not devoid of interest to notice here, that even the wearing of these articles depended upon actual merit and reputation *achieved in war*, and not upon wealth or inheritance. War was, indeed, "the life of the tribe." [643 645]

[61] Anonymous Conqueror (Col. de Doc., I, p. 372). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Drawings are found in Clavigero, in the Mendoza Codex, as published by Lord Kingsborough, and in the frontispiece to the 2d Decade of Herrera (Vol. I). It may be that the honorific titles of "daring lions, tigers, and eagles," which have greatly contributed to the supposition of the existence of "military orders," or "orders of chivalry," were based upon the wearing of such costumes by the braves. As already stated, not all the warriors carried such masks or helmets, but our data are too imperfect to enable us to state positively the class or standing of those who wore them.

[62] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215). "Tambien se determinó que solo el rey pudiese traer "las mantas galanas de labores y pinturas de algodon y hilo de diversas colores y plu"meria, doradas y labradas con diuersas labores y pinturas y diferencialla, quando á "él le paréciese, sin aver excepcion en traer y usar las mantas quel quisiese; y los "grandes señores, que eran hasta doce, las mantas de tal y tal labor y hechura, y los "de menos valia, como uviese hecha tal ó tal valencia ó haçaña, otras diferentes; los "soldados, de otra menor labor y hechura, no pudiendo usar de otra preciosa labor ni "diferencia, mas de aquella que alli se le señalaba con sus ceñidores y bragueros, que "aludian y seguian la hechura de la manta que le era permitida. Toda la demas gente, "so pena de la vida, salió determinado que nenguno usase de algodon ni se pusiese "otra manta sino de neguen, y questas mantas no passasen mas de quantos cubriesen la "rodilla, y si alguno la trujese que llegase á la garganta del pié, fuese muerto, saluo si "no tuviese alguna sennal en las piernas de herida que en la guerra le uviesen dado, " . . . .") Also Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 58). Here again we find the kind and cut of the mantle, its ornaments determined by the warlike achievements of its bearer.

[63] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57). Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères," Vol. I, p. 345). The figure of the Atlas in folio is taken from the Codex Anonymous of the Vatican. Says the Anonymous Conqueror: "To him who distinguished himself in war "they made a mark in the hair, that his prowess might be recognized and seen at once, "since they never wore the head covered" (p. 371). Braids or tresses of hair as well as of leather, were sometimes given as presents, and worn. Tezozomoc mentions them frequently, under different names. [302]

[64] The head-dress, or "divisa."—"tlauiztli," or "quetzalpatzactli," is represented on nearly every Mexican painting or picture-leaf. It is also represented on the stone of sacrifice, as adorning the victorious warrior of each group. Its size is generally exaggerated. Gomara (p. 322, Vedia, I) includes in his list of objects sent by Cortés to the Emperor: "a helmet of wood, gold-plated, with jewels in front or outside, and twenty"five little golden bells, and its crest of a green bird, whose eyes, beak, and feet were [293]

purpose of describing institutions to which this foreign terminology never was adapted. 114 It is this expedient, invented in order to become *understood abroad*, and because there were no other points of comparison given by science at that time, which opposes the greatest difficulties to the study of American antiquities. This obstacle may, to a certain extent, be overcome by establishing the true signification of the *native term* for every institution considered, for every office, as far as this is possible; using *native terminology* as indicative of the true character of *native life*. This course we shall attempt to pursue, in treating the military organization of the Mexicans.[75]

The tribe of Mexico had, soon after its settlement in the marsh 174
where the pueblo was subsequently built up, divided into four sec- 619
tions, or "quarters" ("calpulli"),[76] each of these being composed 701
of certain clusters of kindred, "minor quarters," as Torquemada call them.[77] The four great quarters remained as the principal sub-divisions of the tribe for civil as well as military purposes, and the armed men of each constituted a separate body, regardless of

---

[75] Thus the Mexican word for tribe, town, and settlement is the same: "altepetl," [643] but the Spaniards have applied it to king also (Molina, II, p. 4). The name "tlatoani," which the Mexicans gave to their principal chiefs, and which is translated into king, signifies "one who speaks" ("hablador," Molina, II, p. 141), from "nitlatoa," to speak ("tlatolli," speech). The council was called "tlatocan," "place of speech," but Molina translates it as "court or palace of great lords." The term "speech," or, rather, the verb "to speak," is found in a number of native terms, like "tlatoca-icpalli," "seat of "the one who speaks," which has been rendered, also, as "throne." There is certainly no approach to a royal title in all this. The so-called "King" was only "one of those "who spoke;" a prominent member of the council. A court of justice, "audiencia," was also "tecutlatoloyan," or "chiefs who are speaking, or bowing their heads."

[76] Durán (Cap. V, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467). Tezozomoc (Cap. III, p. 9). Herrera (Dec. III, lib II, cap. II, p. 61). "Popol Vuh," Introduction, p. 117, note No. 1, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus "sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil." Tlatilulco, which was conquered by the Mexicans in 1473, subsequently formed a fifth "quarter." The names of the four original ones were: "Teopan" (place of God), "Aztacalco" (house of the heron), "Moyotlan" (place of the musquito), and "cuepopan." They subsequently formed, under Spanish rule, the *wards* of San Pablo, San Juan, Santa Maria la Redonda, and San Sebastian. Tlatilulco became the "Indian-ward," and was called Santiago.

[77] (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545) " . . . . y asi estaba ordenado, que en cada pueblo, "conforme tenia el numero, y cantidad de gente, huviese parcialidades de diversas "gentes, y familias. . . . . Estas Parcialidades estaban repartidas por Calpules, "que son Barrios, y sucedia, que una Parcialidad de estas dichas tenia tres, y quatro, "y mas, Calpules, conforme la gente tenia el pueblo, ..." Durán (Cap. V, p. 42) is more explicit, even. After having stated that the Mexicans divided into four principal quarters, he says: "their god commanded them that they should distribute among "themselves the gods, and that each quarter should name and designate particular "quarters where these gods would be worshipped; and thus each quarter divided into

no kind of dignity, was, among the Mexicans, transmissible by *in-* 701
heritance. Merit alone, *on the battlefield*, could promote to the rank 555
of war-chief, by inducing and influencing the *elections* held for that
purpose.[63] The civil-chief ("Tecuhtli," from "Tecul," *grandfa-* 565
ther) secured his office through rigorous religious observances and 643
age.[64] *There was no nobility of any kind at Mexico*, the chief being chief only as long as he was by his constituents deemed worthy of that position.[65]

Above the common warrior ("yaoquizqui") there were two 701
classes of superiors: the distinguished braves, and the war-chiefs proper.

Of the distinguished and meritorious braves, which had not, however, attained the chieftainship, we know three different kinds: the "fierce cutters," or "beasts of prey" ("Tequihua"), the "strong eagles," or "old eagles" ("Cuachic," or "Cuachimec"),
and the "wandering arrows" ("Otomitl").[66] These titles were 701
merely honorific, and could be obtained exclusively through the 554
capture, in actual combat, of one or more prisoners. In token of these dignities the hair of the head was cropped closely over the ear; they wore, chiefly, but not exclusively, the masks or helmets

---

[63] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371) "They used to reward highly those who distinguished themselves in war by any valorous action, for even if he was the vilest slave, "they made him captain and lord, and gave to him slaves, and esteemed him so much, "that wherever he went they attended to him and paid him such regards as if he had "been the chief himself."

[64] Mendieta (Lib. II, caps. XXXVIII and XXXIX). Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de "Pièces, etc.," "Des cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient "un tecle." Zurita ("Rapport, etc.:" p. 47). "The chiefs who, as we have said, were "called Tec Tecutzcin, or Teutley, held their office only during life-time." (p. 49.) "If "one of them died, the prince gave the office to one who had proven himself worthy of "it, for the sons of the deceased did not inherit of his dignity, unless they had been "invested with it."

[65] See, further on, the case of the last Montezuma.

[66] These definitions we give for what they may be worth, without in the least insisting upon their absolute correctness. "Tequihua" may derive from "nitla-tequi," to cut, or from "tequani," wild beast. "Cuachic," from "quauhtli," eagle, and "chicactic," an old man, or a strong object, or, also (though this is hardly probable), "chimalli," shield. "Otomitl" probably derives from "N. otoca," to travel, and "mitl," arrow. But this was also the name given to the "Otomies," a well-known savage tribe, expert hunters, found scattered over Mexico, among or around the sedentary Indians. It looks strange for the Mexicans to give to one of their meritorious braves the title of a wandering horde, far below the Mexicans in culture. But the Otomies were good hunters, skilled in the use of the bow, and it is therefore likely that they were named thus by the Mexicans themselves, and that their name is not, as Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg intimates, derived from a supposed god, "Odon," or "Oton" ("Popol Vuh," Introd., pp. 76 and 110). The Otomi word for God was "Oqhá," their word for man, "na nyéhé" ("Grammatica ragionata della Lingua Otomi," of Count Piccolomini, Rome, 1841, after Neve y Molina).

a distinction reserved exclusively for them and for the head war- 701 554
chiefs of the Mexican tribe.[103]

Highest in military command, as head war-chief of the Mexican 643
tribe, was the “chief of men” (“Tlaca-tecuhtli”),[104] represented 701
to us as the king or emperor[105] of Mexico. But he was neither a monarch nor an autocrat, nor a despot. Elected out of a certain kin or descendancy[106] for life, but upon the condition of good behaviour, he could be deposed and degraded, should he incur the

---

[103] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVI, p. 434). “Los mas preeminentes destos eran, los que tenian “atada la corona del cabello con una cinta colorada, y un plumaje rico, del quál colgauan unos ramales hàzia las espaldas con unas borlas del mismo al cabo; estas “borlas eran tantas en numero, quantas hazañas auia hecho. Desta orden de Caualleros era el mismo Rey tambien, y asi se hallaba pintado, con esto genero de plumajes, “y en Chapultepéc, donde estan Moteçuma y su hijo esculpidos en unas peñas que son “de ver, ...” Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI) condenses the statement of Acosta only. Humboldt (“Vues des Cordillères, etc.,” Vol. I): “il (Montezuma) a les cheveux “réunis au sommet de la tête, et liés avec un ruban rouge, distinction militaire des princes et des capitaines les plus vaillants.” The figure is from the “Codex anonymous,” of the Vatican.

[104] This title is given by Tezozomoc, and also by Ramirez de Fuenleal, in Ternaux-Compans (“Recueil de pièces,” p. 247): “Mutizuma portait le nom de ‘tacatecli,’ “‘tetuan,’ ‘jutlacal.’” It is easy to discern “tlacatecuhtli,” and “tlatoani,”—of the latter title we shall hereafter speak. Also: “Il existe parmi eux une espèce de chef à “qui ils donnent le nom de tacatecle ou tlatuan.”

[105] The Mexican language has no word for emperor (Molina I, p. 51). But Tezozomoc renders the expression “cemanahuac tlatoani” by “emperor of the world.” It signifies, however, simply “speaker for what dwells near the water.”

[106] The question of succession in office among the Mexicans is a very difficult one. Still, it certainly never descended from father to son, but was always transmitted by election, either to a brother or to a nephew of the former incumbent. The manner of electing the “Tlaca-tecuhtli” of Mexico is very fully described by Sahagun: “When “the king or lord died, all the senators, called Tecutlatoques, and the old men of the “tribe, called Achcacauhti, and also the captains and old warriors, called Yautequioaques, and other prominent captains in warlike matters, and also the satraps (priests), “called Tlenamacaque and Papaoaqui,—all these assembled in the royal houses. “There they deliberated and determined upon who had to be lord, and chose one of “the most noble of the descendancy (lineage) of the past lords, who would be a valiant man, experienced in warlike matters, daring and brave, who should not drink “wine, should be prudent and wise, raised in the Calmecac, a good speaker, of good “understanding, esteemed and loving. When they agreed upon one, they at once nominated him as lord, but this election was not made by ballot or votes, but, all conferring together, they at last agreed upon the man.” Durán (Cap. XI, p. 106), speaking of the four war-chiefs: “y muerto el rey, de aquellos auia de ser electo Rey y no de otros, “y tampoco podian ser puestos en este cargo y ditados sino eran hijos ù hermanos de “reyes; . . . . nunca heredaron los hijos, por via de herencia, los ditados ni los “señorios, sino por election.” “Y asi nunca salia de aquella generacion aquel ditado “y señorio, eligiéndolos poco a poco.” Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431): “Lo primero en que parece auer sido muy politico el govierno de Mexicanos, es en el orden “que tenian, y guardauan inviolablemente de eligir Rey.” Whether we are authorized to go any further than to say that the Tlacatecuhtli had to belong to a certain *kin*, is very doubtful.

643 701 displeasure of the tribe.[107] He was but the commander-in-chief of the Mexican warriors; an office which, among a nation so essentially warlike, was of the highest importance and rank, and which might have procured to the incumbent an influence tending to impair the freedom of its institutions. But there was a wholesome check placed upon such encroachments by the commanding war-chief, through the election of an associate, which carried the singular and strange title of "snake-woman," or "female-snake" ("Cihua-cohuatl") and who, while being more of a civil chieftain, still alternated with him in command, as emergency required.[108] Through this arrangement, the tribe of Mexico became always provided with at least one military head, and if the "chief of men" was out leading a foray, the "Cihua-cohuatl" remained at the pueblo, or vice-versa. The chief command of a campaign, could, besides, be delegated by them to a subordinate leader.[109]

We know too little of the office of "Cihua-cohuatl" to enter into any details regarding it. The "chief of men," however, has become famous in history through the last three incumbents of the office,[110] It required an extraordinary man, among the tribe, to fill it. He was to be "an earnest and sober man" (says Sahagun), "wise, affable, and a fluent speaker." But especially was he required to be one of the most prominent warriors, who had given proofs of undaunted bravery, ability, and of great circum-

---

[107] Montezuma was deposed during his life-time, and Cuitlahua was appointed his successor. Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, p. 132, cap. CXXVI): when they spoke to Montezuma they said: "Hacemosos saber que ya hemos levantado á un vuestro primo por "señor, ... y alli le nombró cómo se llamaba, que se decia Coadlauaca, señor "de Iztapalapa, que no fué Guatemuz, el cual desde á dos meses fué señor." Cortés (Note 2 to "Segunda Relacion," p. 42, Vedia I): "Los Indios le mataron por cobarde." Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. LXVIII, p. 494, and cap. LXX, p. 497). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. X, cap. X, p. 267).

[108] The "Cihua-cohuatl" (from "cihuatl," woman, and "cohuatl," snake) is variously designated as "vice-roy," "captain-general," "supreme judge," "coadjutor of the king," "second king." He was a warrior, too, and during the siege officiated as commander in chief, together with Quauhtemotzin. It results from the statement of Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 332) that he was equal to the so-called "king." What the exact functions of this office were, it is not here the place to discuss; it is sufficient for the purpose of this essay, to determine that there were, in all likelihood, two head-chiefs of the Mexican tribe, or two principal war-chiefs, like those of the Iroquois. The "Cihuacohuatl," according to Tezozomoc, was also elective.

[109] Thus we see, sometimes "Tlacochcalcatl," then again "Tlacatecatl," and "Cuauhnoctli," made commanders-in-chief.

[110] These were: Montezuma II (Motecuhzuma Xocoyotzin), Cuitlahuatzin, and Quauhtemotzin.

spection.[111] Therefore, he was always one of the four great war- 701
chiefs of the quarters[112] previous to his election, and his war-dress 643 ●
differed in fact but little from that of the latter. As we have already stated, he wore the hair bound up behind the occiput with 701
red leather, and on his helmet or on the bare head a towering bush 643
of green feathers.[113] A long and wide mantle covered his armour, 213
which was otherwise similar to that of the other chiefs.[114] But his ear-rings of gold,[115] and the green stone-pendant from the bridge of his nose,[116] the golden lip-ring,[117] his wristbands of featherwork and leather,[118] the upper-arm-bands of gold,[119] the

---

[111] Sahagun (Historia Universal, Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 264): "El capitan general tiene "por su oficio, mandar en la batalla, y dar orden y manera para efectuarla, y concertar "los escuadrones, teniendose por grande aguila y leon, y presumiendo de ser victo-"rioso por los buenos aderezos con que va adornado á la guerra á manera de aguila, y "dando á entender que su oficio es morir en la guerra por los Suyos." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431): "Ordinarily they elected young men for their kings, because "the kings always went to war, and it was almost the principal object of this office; "therefore they looked to their being proper to military duty, and fond of it, also." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap, XXVII, p. 132): "Tenian estos naturales en mucho cuando su "señor era esforzado y valiente, porque teniendo tal señor capitan, salian con mucho "ánimo á la guerra." (Idem) "Demas de esto, tenian respeto entre los hijos' á aquel "que en las guerras se habia mostrado animoso, y á este elegian." Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 257).

[112] Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103): "A estos quatro señores y ditados, despues de eletos "principes los hacian del consejo real como presidentes y oydores del consejo supremo, "sin parecer de los quales nenguna cosa se auia de hacer, y muerto el rey, de aquellos auia de ser electo Rey y no de otros." Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXV, p. 441): "Todos "estos ditados eran del consejo supremo, ... ; y muerto el Rey, auia de ser "eligido por Rey, hombre que tuuiesse algun ditado destos quatro."

[113] This distinction was worn by the Indian chiefs of Mexico at least twenty years after the conquest. See, in Vol. II. of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Colleccion de Documentos:" "Relacion de la Jornada que hizo Don Francisco de Sandoval Acazitli, Cacique y Señor "natural que fué del pueblo de Tlalmanalco, Próvincia de Chalco, con el Señor Visorey "Don Antonia de Mendoza, etc., etc." (in 1541). "Don Francisco Acazitli llevó por "divisa y armas cuando fué á la guerra de los chichimecas, una calavera de plumeria "con sus penachos verdes, una rodela de lo mismo, y en ella un bezote de oro retor-"cido, con su espada y su ichcahuipil, y vestido con un jubon colorado, y sus zara-"güelles, zapatos y borceguies, y un sombrero blanco, y un pañuelo grande con que "se amarraba la cabeza, y un collar de pedreria con dos cadenas" (p. 307). (Idem, p. 255) "Relacion de la Entrada de Nuño de Guzman," by Garcia del Pilar. "Y viendosé "asi los señores destas comarcas, que eran Tapiezuela, señor desta cibdad, y el señor "de Tatelulco, y el de Guaxucingo, y el de Tascaltectle, y otros muchos señores y prin-"cipales destas comarcas, le fueron à rogar y suplicar, ... que se sirviese de "todas sus divisas que eran de oro y de plumas verdes muy galanas, ..." Also (Relacion de Acazitli, p. 311. "con su divisa de quetzalpatzatli de plumeria verde").

[114] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 213).

[115] "nacochtli" (Molina, I. p. 91).

[116] "Yacaxiuitl," from "Yacatl," nose, "xiuitl," turquoise, or fine green stone in general.

[117] "tentetl," from "tentli," lips, and "tetl," stone.

[118] "matzopetzli" (Molina, II. p. 54). "braçalete."

[119] "matemecatl," "braçalete [illegible]o, o cosa semejante" (Molina, II, p. 53).

701 golden tubes enclosing his ankles,[120]—they were all of a more
643 elaborate workmanship, and only he and the "Cihua-cohuatl" were
293 entitled to wear them thus.[121]

But the distinctive mark of either of them on the field of battle
[554] was a long tress or braid of featherwork (the "Quachictli") hanging down from the occiput to the waist or girdle.[122] Besides, they carried a small drum, on which they gave signals to their men.[123]

000 A very fair representation of this costume, especially of the characteristic headdress, is found at Palenqué, in the beautiful figures on the bas-reliefs of the "altar," and "tablet of the cross." These tablets and figures show, in dress, such a striking analogy with what we know of the military accoutrements of the Mexicans, that it is a strong approach to identity.[124]

---

[120] "Cozcatl," or "coscapetlatl," or "cozehuatl." "Cozcatl" is a jewel, or a chain, or a collar, hung with precious stones.

[121] The "king" and the "cihuacohuatl" both wore the same dress and ornaments. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215): "Ordénose que solo el rey y su coadjutor Tlacaelel pudiesen "traer çapatos en la casa Real" (p. 216). "Iten, que solo el rey, y los reyes de las pro-"vincias y grandes señores pudiesen usar de braçaletes de oro y de calcetas de oro en "las gargantas de los piés, y ponerse en los piés cascabeles de oro à piés y guirnaldas "y cintas de oro a' la caueça con plumeria." Every Mexican tribe had this duality of the chief military office, as Tezozomoc distinctly states. Besides, it appears also distinctly in Central America. The "Popol-Vuh" mentions "Hun-Camé" and "Vukub-Camé" as the two chiefs of "Xibalba." (Part II, cap. I, p. 173) "Then they all took "advice together, and these: 'Hun-Camé' and 'Vucub-Camé,' are the chief judges." (Also, Cap. LXII.) See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 141.) A similar duality was found among the Itzaes inhabiting Lake Peten, when they were conquered by Ursua, in 1698. "Canek" and "Quincanek" were the titles of the two chiefs. They called each other cousins. ("Historia de la conquista de la provincia de el Itza, re-"duccion y progressos de la de el Lacandon, etc., etc.," by Juan de Villagutierre Sotomayor. Madrid, 1701.)

[122] The term "Quachictli" is from Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Molina has no mention of this word. Clavigero describes it, without giving a name, as "a very "subtle piece of featherwork, hanging down the entire back" (Lib. VII, cap. XXII). See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129).

[123] Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVIII). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130). Durán (Cap. XXXV) p. 277: "y yendo el rey Axayacatl "vitorioso tocando un tambor de oro que à las espaldas llevaba, lo qual se usaba "quando iba en alcance." (Idem, Cap. XLVI, p. 372) "y à las espaldas un atambor de "oro, con que los reyes hazian señal al arremeter y en el retirar, de suerte que los reyes "servian de atambor, o sus generales, los quales tocauan al arma y à recoger de los "exercitos."

[124] Especially the left hand figure of the so-called "altar-piece." The right hand figure may be a priest, but we would suggest that both figures are those of *chiefs*, one representing the equivalent to the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," and the other,—the right hand figure,—the equivalent to the "Cihuacohuatl." (See: "Travels in Central America, "Yucatan, and Chiapas," by J. Stephens; also, the plates from Dupaix, in Lord Kingsborough.) Count Minutoli ("Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatemala." Berlin, 1832) has: Tab. I, a fair representation of the "tablet of the cross," also. The left hand figure is evidently a chieftain of the highest grade, as the "Quachictli" of Torquemada,

[701
643
646

Both the "chief of men," and his "*coadjutor*," the "Cihuacohuatl," while exercising, under certain extraordinary circumstances, discretionary powers in military matters, were still subject to a *higher* authority. This was the *council of chiefs*[125] ("tlatocan"), of which they were, ex-officio, members, with the additional title of "speakers" ("tlatoani"), and occupying, therefore, the "speaker's-seat" ("tlatoca-yepalli").[126] In this council the *ultimate power of government* was vested, its functions were equally *legislative* and *judiciary;* the execution of its decrees belonged to the war-chiefs. *Peace and war* lay in its hands, the war-chiefs alone could not decide upon either.[127] The existence of this council as

---

is plainly recognizable. In all those figures of Central American reliefs we discern the characteristic parts of the Mexican costume: the breech-cloth ("maxtlatl") and the head-dress. Several of them have the jacket "huepil," and the chiefs have, as ornaments, the "coxcatl," the "matzopetztli," and especially, the ear-rings and the towering plumage. Lip-pendants and nose-rings are very prominent on the statues of Copan. An illustration of the costume of the two chiefs, both being dressed exactly alike, is given by Durán on plate 6 (to chapter 23 of the first part of his work). Axayaca is also represented in full armour on plates 10 and 11.

[125] The word is from Molina (Vocab. II, p. 141,—"tlatocán,"—"corte ò palacio de "grandes señores." Id. I, p. 30, "consejo real." "tlatocanecentlalilliztli"). It derives from "ni-tlatoa," to speak. A very good illustration of this council is found in the "Popol-Vuh" (Part II, cap. VIII), notwithstanding the diffuse language, we can easily discern how the council of chiefs was constituted at "Xibalba." "Hunahpu," and "Xbalanqué," upon their arrival at the council-hall, found there twelve chiefs, the names of which are all given (p. 147). After Montezuma was captured and brought to Spanish quarters "there were always in his company twenty great lords and companions and councillors" (Bernal-Diez, Cap. XCV, p. 96, vol. II, Vedia). These were probably the members of the supreme council.

[126] "Tlatoani,"—"hablador, ò gran señor" (Molina, II, p. 141). Bernal-Diez says (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 33, Vedia. II) that when they arrived at San Juan de Ulloa: "vinieron dos canoas muy grandes, ... y en ellas viniéron muchos Indios Mejicanos, y como vieron los estandartes y navio grande, conociéron que allí habian de ir à "hablar al capitan, y fuéronse derechos al navio, y entran dentro y preguntan quien era "el Tlatoan, que en su lengua dicen el señor." Señor Icazbalceta, in his note No. 36 (p. 12 of Vol. II of "Coleccion de Documentos") defines "Tlatoani" as follows: " . . . " . era la denominacion que se daba à los superiores y gobernantes, equivalente à "la antigua nuestra señor, y con la cual llamaban à los españoles." ("Real Ejécutoria "de S. M. sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga, perteneciente à los caciques de "Axapusco, de la Jurisdiccion de Otumba.") "Tlatoca-yepalli," from "tlatoca," and "icpalli," stool.

[127] The fact of the supremacy of the council in all matters is amply proven (Durán, Cap. XIV, p. 117; cap. XVI, p. 133). Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441): "All these "four titularies were of the supreme council, without whose advice the king neither "made, nor could make, anything of importance." But especially the remarkable paragraph from Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 352), speaking of the "Cihuacohuatl:" "Este Juez parece tener veces, y autoridad de Virrei, à los quales comunica el Rei autoridad absoluta, para governar, y despachar negocios, cometidos a su [illegible], y absoluta determinacion, ... pues en cosas de su Govierno, *conoce la audiencia, que "toda junta se hace persona de Rei, y con su autoridad le pueden reprimir, y reprimen.*" It is unfortunate that we have not any definite and detailed knowledge of the composition of this council. All we can say positively is, that it existed, and was supreme.

ON THE DISTRIBUTION AND TENURE OF LANDS, AND THE CUSTOMS WITH RESPECT TO INHERITANCE, AMONG THE ANCIENT MEXICANS.

BY AD. F. BANDELIER.

---

000 IN a previous paper we have endeavored to describe the warlike customs and organization of the Mexican tribe.[1] Our conclusions in regard to them are somewhat at variance with those generally adopted, since, instead of the military despotism which heretofore has been admitted as existing in ancient Mexico, we found but the military democracy peculiar to a warlike tribe.[2] It is our purpose 121 now to investigate how far the Mexicans may have progressed in their notions about the tenure and distribution of the soil.

114 The picture which nearly all the authors, ancient as well as modern, trace of the condition of aboriginal Mexico is that of a feudal monarchy.[3] This alone should fix permanently the mode of landed tenure. It implies also the notion of abstract ownership, and thus indicates a high state of culture. But we have already

---

[1] "On the Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans," in 10th Annual Report of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology. A

[2] "Art of War, etc., etc., of the Ancient Mexicans," pp. 113, 114, 115, to 127 inclusive, especially the notes. See also "Ancient Society," by Lewis H. Morgan. (N. York, 1877.) Part II, chapter VII, "The Aztec Confederacy," pp. 186-214 inclusive.

[3] The first information tending to represent the condition of Mexico as a feudal state was probably furnished by Cortés; or through his expedition at least. The reports of the preceding voyage of Grijalva (1518) contain no positive statements. On the other hand the certificate issued by Cortés (probably about the 20 May, 1519, or 20 days after his landing at Ulua), to the chiefs of Axapusco and Tepeyahualco, already [643] speaks of "the great Montezuma, which resides in this great city of Tenochtitlán and all its provinces." We have not Cortés' first letter to the emperor, but in his second report, 30 Oct., 1520, he mentions "a great Lord called Mutezuma." (Vedia, "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," Vol. I. Carta Segunda, pp. 12 and 13.) The same dispatch contains a number of details on Montezuma's power, from which a feudal empire was necessarily construed as for inst. (p. 25): "There are in this great city many very large and fine houses, the cause of it being that all the *Lords of the land, vassals of the said Mutezuma*, have their houses in that city . . . ." "What has been ascertained is: that [642] his sovereignty was almost as large as Spain . . ." (p. 34.) Gomara, who published his "Conquista de Méjico" in 1552, already mentions "thirty lords of one-hundred-thousand vassals each, and three-thousand lords of places." (Vedia I, p. 345. "Corte y guarda de Moteczuma.") Oviedo ("Historia general y natural de Indias," Vol. III, Lib.

A [See 14: Bandelier, this file.--Analyst]

these assumptions are disproved by the facts, related even by such 114
authors as have most contributed towards fixing them upon the 174
public mind as recognized truths.[16] We need hardly say here,

---

[16] In regard to the Tecpanecas, Acosta says (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 477): "From this 184
it may be inferred, that among them the King exercised no absolute command and rule, 642
and that he was rather a consul, or Dux, than a king." He further compares the Tec- 643
panecas with the "reges" of ancient Rome (See Morgan's "Ancient Society," Part II, cap. XI, p. 297). The council was supreme among the Tecpanecans. See Tezozomoc ("Crónica Mexicana," Lord Kingsborough, Vol. IX, cap. IV, p. 11; also cap. V, p. 12, cap. VI, p. 13, "a esto respondió el rey y senado Tecpaneca: Digéronle: mira atempanecatl (que muy bien le conocian) bien conosco la humillacion y sugecion de los Mexicanos; ya es por demas, porque estan alborotados, y corajudos los Tecpanecas:") Durán (Cap. VIII, p. 64, and 65).

The Xuchimilcas were governed by two chiefs (Tezozomoc, cap. XVI, p. 25. Durán, cap. XII, p. 104. "Their chiefs, of which there were two, one of the chief-place ("cabecera" rather lineage) of Xuchimilco called Yacaxapotecutli, and the other from the milpa (this is to be interpreted as descendancy), which is called Pachimalcaltecutli, and together with them meeting many principals, said"): a joint meal after communal style is also attributed to them by Tezozomoc (Cap. XVI, p. 26).

The Chalcas also had two chiefs: (Durán, cap. XVI, p. 134, Montezuma Ilhuicamina said to Tlacaelel: "I wish, if thou agreest, to send messengers to Chalco to the chief of Chalco Quateotl and to his companion Toteociteuctli . . . ."—Tezozomoc, cap. XXII, p. 33. Cap. XXIV, p. 36. Confirmed by the action of Cortés after the voluntary surrender of Chalco, when he installed two chiefs. Bernal Diaz: cap. CXXXIX, p. 134 and 135, Vedia, II).

With the Tezcucans or Aculhuas there appears always but one head-chief, but it is equally positive that the office, while remaining in a certain kin, was elective still. The fact is interesting and requires close proof. We adduce here, in a general way, Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX. "De la Manera que tuvieron en elegir los señores," p. 318, of 2d Vol.): Durán (Cap. LXIV, p. 486). "Montezuma sent his messengers to Tezcuco, and had all the chiefs of that city and kingdom called to learn from them whom they were inclined to elect . . . ." (p. 487), "the which came, electing for King to Quetzalacxoyatzin, Neçaualpilli's son . . . ." Tezozomoc (Cap. CI and CII). Ixtlilxochitl concurs ("Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. LXXXVI). Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, pp. 287, 288 and 330), acknowledges that, while the choice was among the sons exclusively, there still was a *choice* left, but he contradicts the statements of Juan Bautista Pomar (who wrote about 1582) who says, that this choice extended to the entire *kin* of the deceased head chief. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, p. 153). "Although the Indians of this New Spain inherited the chieftaincy in direct lines, they took great care in ascertaining which one of his sons had to succeed to him." He mentions the succession in the cases of Netzahualcoyotl and of Netzahualpilli, each of whom were respectively followed by what he calls an illegitimate offspring, but whose mother was a *Mexican* woman. Veytia (Cap. XIV, p. 267). "The council hardly had been informed of the King's death, when it thought proper to elect a successor, after the manner of the Mexicans . . . ." Carlos Maria de Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes," Mexico, 1826. Part III, cap. IV, pp. 218, 219 and 220). Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, p. 19). "The order of succession varied according to the provinces, the same custom, with slight differences, prevailing in Mexico, Tezcuco and Tacuba."

The assumption of a feudal empire at Tezcuco has already been discussed. It was an invention of chroniclers, who had a direct interest, or thought to have one, in advancing the claims of the Tezcucan tribe to an original supremacy. Tribal jealousy and rivalry, such a powerful ally of the Spaniards during the conquest, continued to subsist where the Spanish domination was fully established.

344 642 643 This building was the "*tecpan*"[46] called, even by Torquemada "house of the community;"[47] it was, therefore, since the council of chiefs was the highest authority in the government, the "council house" proper. It was erected near the centre of the "pueblo," and fronting the open space reserved for public celebrations. But, whereas formerly occasional, gradually merging into *regular*, meetings of the chiefs were sufficient, constant, daily attendance at the "tecpan" became required, even to such an extent, that a permanent *residence* of the head-chiefs *there*, resulted from it, and was *one of the duties of the office*. Consequently the "tlacatecuhtli," his family, and such assistants as he needed (like runners), dwelt at the "official house." But this occupancy was in no manner connected with a possessory right by the occupant, whose family relinquished the abode, as soon as the time of office expired through death of its incumbent. The "tecpan" was occupied by the head war-chiefs only as long as they exercised the functions of that office.[48]

---

tury,—the meetings of the tribe being previously called together by priests, and probably in the open space around the main house of worship. The fact of the priests calling the public meetings is proved by Durán (Cap. IV, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 466). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XVIII, pp. 126, 130. Cap. XXI, p. 186). Acosta first mentions "unos palacios, aunque harto pobres." (Lib. VII, cap. 8, p. 470), on the occasion of the election of the first regular "tlacatecuhtli:" Acamapichtli,—Torquemada says (Lib. XII, cap. XXII, p. 290), that they lived in miserable huts of reeds and straw, erected around the open space where the altar or place of worship of Huitzilopochtli was built. The public building was certainly their latest kind of construction.

[46] From "tecuhtli" chief, and the affixum "pan," denoting a place. Therefore "place of the chiefs." Molina translates: "casa ó palacio real, ó de algun señor de Salua" (II, p. 93). The word is also found in the Qquiché of the "Popol-Vuh" (p. 306). "Qui tecpan quib"—Mr. E. Brasseur de Bourbourg acknowledges the Mexican origin of the word, and renders it by "to divide into quarters," although he says that in Mexican it signifies: palace or municipality.

[47] Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XIV, pp. 269 and 270). "Tecpancalli, que quiere decir, los Palacios Reales, ó el Alcaçar, y casas de Señorio" (Id: Lib. VII, cap. XXI, p. 119. Lib. XIII, cap. XXX, p. 477). But especially in the Sixth Book, 27th chapter, page 48, when, referring to the statements of Father Bernardino de Sahagun who says, that "being in the city of Xuchimilco, he heard one night, etc. etc. . . . . and that inquiring next day why that shouting had taken place,—the Indians answered, that from the Tecpan, or community (municipal house), they had been calling the macehuales to work."

[48] Nearly every author who attempts to describe minutely the "chief-house" (tecpan) mentions it as containing great halls (council-rooms). See the description of the tecpan of Tezcuco by Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichimèques," cap. XXXVI, p. 247. "The palace had two courts, the first and largest one serving as public square and market, for which it is still used at present. The second and interior one, was surrounded by the hall of the royal councils, where the King held two tribunals. In the centre of this court a large brasier was burning, which was never extinguished." Id. cap. XXXVIII), by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXVII, p. 305. Lib. II, cap. XLIV, pp. 146 and 147. Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 354 and 355).

About the time these changes occurred, the dignity of "tlaca-teculitli" seems to have become a permanent feature in the govern- 643

XI, cap. XXVI. pp. 354 and 355). Cortés himself (Vedia, I, carta segunda, pp. 34 and 35), speaks of the great halls contained in what he calls the "house of Moteczuma." Bernal-Diez del Castillo (Vedia II. cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87), confirms. See also Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 342 and 343. "Adonde él moraba y residia á la contiona, llaman Tepac, que es como decir palacio . . . .— . . . habia en él muchas salas.") Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XIV, p. 303. "El palacio de los Señores ó casas reales, tenia muchas salas.") The tecpan was near the centre of the pueblo. See Gomara (Vedia I, p. 341. "Llegaron pues á un patio grande, recamara de los idolos, que fué casas de Axaiáca.") Cortés (Vedia, I, "Carta Tercera," pp. 74 and 76, etc.). rec 344

Bernal-Diez (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 84. etc.). According to Sr. Icazbalceta ("México in 1554, note 38, p. 182, to the 2d Dialogue of Cervantes-Salázar), the "old houses of Montezuma"-occupied (about) the square west of the present site of the Cathedral. The "new houses" were in place of where the National palace now stands. It is admitted that the Cathedral occupies the site of the main "teocalli," or the old centre of the ancient pueblo. (Torquemáda, Lib. III, cap. XXII, p. 290). The correctness of this is conclusively proven by Sr. Icazbalceta in note 40, to the Second Dialogue of Cervántes (p. 194, and plate on p. 197, also the important dissertation on page 201), and in note 51. Thus the central location of the tecpan at Mexico remains established.

The permanent residence of the head war-chief, of his household, and of some assistants,—at the tecpan, is too frequently related to demand further proof, but it is not superfluous here to investigate the point: that this residence was connected,—not with the *person* and *descendancy* of that chief, but with the *office* alone.

We find it mentioned that the buildings occupied by the Spaniards, when they first came to the pueblo of Mexico were the "house of the father of Montezuma" (Axayacatzin, probably). All the eye-witnesses concur in it and we need not refer to them in detail. There was, consequently, a house where the *kinship of the chief lived*,—aside from the tecpan, for since descent with the Mexicans was in the male line,—the son continued to occupy the dwellings of his father and (with communal living as practised in Mexico), of that father's consanguine relations. (That these sons and descendants were bred up to the ordinary pursuits of life, like any other Indian of Mexico, results from the speech as reported by Sahagun (Lib. V, cap. XV), of an old chief to his sons, wherein he exhorts them to cultivate the mechanical arts, and agriculture, adding the remarkable words, p. 117, "nowhere have I seen that any one may maintain himself through his noble descendancy alone.") In the case of Ahuitzotl, Durán relates (Cap. XLI, p. 327), "all the chief and principal men, with the whole tribe, going to the place where the sons of the Kings and great men were kept ("recogidos"), and where they instructed and furthered them in virtuous things, in the use of arms and good manners. Then they took out (Ahuitzotl) from the others, and brought him to the royal palace." Tezozomoc (Cap. LX, p. 100), speaking of the election of Ahuitzotl says: "and these twelve Mexican chiefs went to bring the King Ahuitzotl from the house of Tilancalco." "And they said nothing to him until they were in the great palace" (Cap., LXI, p. 100). The election of Montezuma, however, gives occasion to that author, for another and very important statement (Cap. LXXXII, p. 148). "For, know ye, that many of the sons of the Kings past, are brought up now, some of which have become singers, others Cuachimecs, others Otomies, and the others are preparing to assume your titles of Tlacatecatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Ticocyahuacatl, Acolnahuacatl, Hezhuahuacatl, and a number of others who are and dwell in the principal house Calmecac." It is further exposed, how unwise it would be to elect an *unmarried* man, and finally Montezuma was chosen, whose age at that time is given at thirty-*four* years, and he was taken out of the Calmecac and escorted to the chief house (tecpan). But the strongest evidence results from the fact that the office was *elective*, and not hereditary. How, while the incumbent of an office changed, could the family of his predecessor still remain in possession of the official building? 342 611 612 643 ment of the Mexican tribe.[49] Nearly at the same time also, the Mexicans felt the necessity of opening communications with the tribes inhabiting the shores of the great marsh in the midst of which they were living, — in order to obtain some of the commodities produced or held by these tribes. Strong enough for *defence*, but too weak yet for *offence*, the Mexicans approached cautiously their nearest and most powerful neighbors, the Tecpanecas, with the view of securing permission to trade and barter, also for the purpose of obtaining the use of one of the springs of the mainland. This permission was granted, on condition that the Mexicans should pay a certain tribute. This was, however, no kind of feudal prestation, not being in the least connected with the tenure of the soil or occupancy of the territory,— but simply like unto a toll or tax placed on the faculty of barter. The further condition of military assistance being, in all likelihood, also exacted, the Mexicans thus became, not the subjects as it is commonly stated, but the weaker allies of the Tecpanecas.[50]

---

[49] We have previously alluded (note 22), to the fact that, anterior to Acamapitzin, the series of Mexican head-chiefs appear broken, whereas from the latter onward the office is reported as having been regularly filled. From that time on the term "palacio," as *connected with the office*, appears in the Spanish historians. See Durán, Tezozomoc, Acosta and Torquemada (Especially "Monarchia Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XIV, p. 96).

[50] All the authors agree upon the fact that the early life of the Mexican tribe on the site of Tenuchtitlan was one of secluded poverty, even of misery. See especially Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 93). "In this place they settled ("se ranchearon") erecting poor and small habitations, surrounded by canes and grasses, called by them Xacalli, . . . where they spent their life miserably, the place being poor and destitute, and as people abandoned and poor, persecuted by all the inhabitants of the mainland, they subsisted upon roots of Tulli and other herbs, which grew on the place and on its surroundings." Then they began to fish. (See also Tezozomoc, cap. III. Durán, cap. V. Clavigero, Lib. II, cap. XVII. Sahagun, Lib. X, cap XXIX, pp. 145 and 146. Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 142). Durán and Tezozomoc both assert, that their first step, when the population began to increase, was to seek for traffic, which could only be secured through some kind of connection with their nearest and most warlike neighbors, which at that time were the Tecpanecas. ("Hist. de las Yndias de Nueva España," cap. V, pp. 41 and 42. "Empero juntandose todos en consějo ovo algunos que fueron de parecer que con mucha omildad se fuesen à los de Azcaputzalco y á los Tepanecas, que son los de Cuyuacan y Tacuba, y que se les ofreciesen y diesen por amigos y se les subjetasen con intencion de pedilles piedra y madera para el edificio de su ciudad . . . ." "Crónica Mexicana," cap. III, p. 9. It was finally agreed to barter, with as little concession as possible on their part). Most of the other authors have transformed this alliance with the Tecpanecas into a feudal allegiance, resulting from the occupation of the soil and from intermarriage. Both are disproved by Durán (Cap. V, p. 41: "pues era sitio y termino de los de Azcaputzalco y de los de Tezcuco; porque alli llegaban los terminos del uno y del otro pueblo, y por la otra parte del mediodía, terminos de Culhuacan; . ." "y que como señores ya de aquel sitio, sin hacer buz ni reconocer subjecion à ninguno, pues su dios los auia dado aquel sitio, fuesen y comprasen piedra y madera, etc., etc.") and Tezozomoc (Cap. III, pp. 9 and 10).

Even Torquemada acknowledges the *fact*, that the Mexicans were originally independent (Lib. II, cap. XI), and that they were connected with the Tecpanecas through trib-

174 With continued increase of the population, the "tecpan" alone 344 did no longer suffice, thus each "calpulli" erected, within its own area, its own council place for the transaction of its interior business, lodging in it, after the model of the "tecpan," its own chief-men, and exercising there its share of the general hospitality. So Mexico became dotted with public constructions, necessarily distinguished by their size and arrangement from the rest of the buildings.[52]

[344 579] 643 651 The chiefs and their families who resided in the official houses, and upon whom devolved the exercise of public hospitality,—continued to participate for their share in the use of the soil held and cultivated by the "calpulli" to which they belonged by descent. But whereas formerly they could improve these lands *themselves*, this became impossible with the increase of public business, and the task of cultivating them devolved, first upon their children and families, afterwards, when even these were required for the duties of the official household,—*upon the other members of the kin.* This was done, not in token of vassalage, but as a remuneration for the public services of the chiefs. The same took place in regard to the "tecpan" and its occupants. With the increase of intercourse, however, the scanty crops raised in this manner became insufficient, and a regular contribution, by each member of the different kinships, towards maintenance of the chiefs and the visitors they had to entertain, was instituted. Certain expanses were set aside, to be worked by communal labor, the products of which were exclusively devoted to what we may term "official purposes." Thus not only was there a tax created, voluntarily by the tribal components, for public purpose, but a new feature was introduced in the distribution of the soil. The mode of tenure,

---

[618] [52] These houses, sometimes called "calpulli," at other times "calpixca," were the *private palaces*, which the Spanish authors mention. They were but "official buildings;" probably connected with storehouses. As the tribe had its tecpan, so each calpulli, or localized kinship, its own council-house. This results from the organization of the kinship. See also "Art of War," pp. 103 and 104. What distinguished these constructions from the common house or abode ("calli"), were the halls ("salas"), and the "tecpan" was further distinguished by a lookout or tower. (Durán, cap. XXVI, p. 213. Tezozomoc, cap. XXXVI, p. 56). This distinction places it parallel to the so-called "palace" of Palenqué in Chiapas. Compare further: Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 62). "At the annual gatherings, they (the chiefs of the calpulli) distribute gratuitously food and drink, to keep the Indians in good humor." Herrera (Dec. II. lib. VII. cap. XIII, p. 190). If we were to believe the picture presented of Mexico by the authors of the 16th and 17th centuries, Mexico would have possessed innumerable edifices of that kind.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

however, was not changed, and no hereditary rights of property 643
were called into existence in favor of the chiefs or their descen- 651
dants.[33]

For nearly a century after the first settlement of the Mexicans 174
64-8

---

[33] No mention is made of any tax or tribute gathered for official purposes among the Mexicans until under the last Montezuma, when it is generally admitted, as Gomara says: "That all tributed to the chief of Mexico" ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 345, Vedia, I). Without accepting the views expressed by Robertson ("History of America," Book VII, p. 291. Vol. III. 9th Edition, 1870), who ascribes to the influence of Montezuma a [178
change in the plan of government of the Mexican tribe,—it still appears but natural
that as long as the tribe was weak in numbers and resources, the original or typical 174]
form of communal Institutions prevailed, whereas with increased population and consequent increase of governmental labor the members of the tribe were compelled to provide for the maintenance of their officers and their families. The first step was to cultivate such patches of land for them as they held being members of some calpulli. These lands were the "pillali," commonly treated of as "patrimonial estates." Torquemada, however, says (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546): "Another kind of lands they 423
called pillali, or, so to say: Lands of Knights ("hidalgos") or nobles. Of these there 565
were two kinds. In the first case the land was inherited with the nobility, and in the
other, the chief gave lands to such as had achieved distinction and valor in war, and 651
were ennobled therefor. To these the chief gave lands for their sustenance, but they could not hold renters ("terrazgueros") but might sell to other chiefs, as if the conditional gift from the chief had not existed: and neither of these two classes could dispose of their tracts to any macehual (common man—perhaps from "maitl"—hand, and "ceualli"—shade,—the hand of some one who gives protection or shade), for in that case they lost them, and the chief entered in their possession, *and they were applied to the calpulli in whose area they were located, in order that the said cluster might pay tribute according to the quantity of land contained;*—also, if any one of them died without [428]
heirs, the chief inherited" Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These were lands which went with the Lordship, and which they called lands of the Lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, but rented them as they might and the *rents were used in the house of the King, because there, besides all the principals, also ate the travellers, and the paupers,* for which service the Kings were much honored and obeyed. What these rents did not furnish, was supplied by their patrimonial estates." Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195). "For the present we shall but say, that in each pueblo and place there was a tract of land of best quality, which was of the Kings or Lord of the estate . . . . . . For the sowing and working of these lands the calpixque, an officer of the republic (state) in each pueblo, daily designated the common people who had to work them, and all the fruit belong integrally to the chief for *the maintenance of his house.*" Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim. cap. XXXV, pp. 242, 243 and 244). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Part III, cap. V, p. 234, etc.). Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat." lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536, of 3d vol.) Now we have already established, that individual tenure of the soil was unknown, it is further proved that the offices were non-hereditary, we cannot fail, therefore, to recognize. 1°. In the "pillali" of Torquemada the original "chinampa" held by chiefs as members of a kinship.

2°. In the tracts of Herrera and Veytia "official lands," specially reserved for the wants of official houses and their occupants. These lands went "with the office."

No date can be assigned to the introduction of this new feature among the Mexicans but we cannot help being struck by the fact that the Tezcucan chroniclers make special mention of it, connecting it with the time when Nezahualcoyotl became chief of Tezcoco (See Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichim." cap. XXXV. Veytia, Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 196. Bustamante, Part III, cap. V). The connection is *implied* rather than *expressed*, and but *excuses* the suggestion: that such a change might have occurred about the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Of course we allude here to the Mexicans alone, and not to the tribes of the mainland.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

assumption, frequently made, that the Mexicans were divided into two distinct clusters at the outset. 618 174

A council of chiefs, representing the seven kins meeting on equal terms, composed the government of the ancient Mexicans at that period of their history. Among these, occasional "old men" of particular ability loom up as leading advisers. But no permanent general office of an executive nature is mentioned; although even occasional braves acquired historical prominence through their deeds of valor and of sagacity.[36] 174 643

But, while the organization was thus amply sufficient for the needs of a straggling band, Indian worship or "medicine" (as the native term implies) represented, inside of that organization, the lingering remains of what we have already suggested to be the oldest aboriginal clusters of society. Corresponding to the *four* original kins of the QQuiché, to the *four* leading days of the calendar with the traditions attached to their origin, we find among the ancient Mexicans at that period *four* chief medicine men, or "old men," who at the same time are "carriers of the God."[37] 174 618 624

---

[36] "*Tenure of Lands*" (P. 398 and 399, Notes 21 and 22). In addition to the authorities quoted there, I refer to: *Gomara* ("*Conquista de Méjico*" Vedia I, p. 431). "y dicen que no trajeron señores, sino capitanes." (Idem p. 432. "De los reyes de Méjico"). *Motolinia* ("Epistola proémial," p. 5). "aunque se sabe que estos Mexicanos fueron los postreros, y que no tuvieron señores principales, mas de que se gobernaron por capitanes." —*Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). "Dicen que el ejército mexicano trajo por caudillos ò capitanes diez principales que los regian, ... Entre estos eligieron, luego como hicieron su asiento, por rey y principal señor á Tenuch." *Torquemada*. (Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78; cap. XII, pp. 94 and 95).

The fact of the election of the *first* so-called "King" of the ancient Mexicans, so generally acknowledged that no evidence of it is needed, is proof enough that, previous to it, the government of the Mexicans was at least, not monarchical. The words of Torquemada, (p. 94, vol. I.) "Dicese, que aviendo pasado veinte y siete años, que se governaban en comun, los unos, y los otros, les tomó gana de eligir Rey, ..." are plain enough.

Aside from the "leaders" (caudillos) of the Kins frequently mentioned, occasional war-chiefs or directing braves turn up during this period of their wandering existence. Thus, a chief whom they called "Mexi" is mentioned by *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. IV. p. 460). *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 138 and 139), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. X. p. 60); and another very famous warrior, "Humming Bird." (Huitzilihuitl) led the Mexicans during their fray with the valley-tribes at Chapultepec, losing his life in the sally by which they broke through their surrounding enemies. *Durán* (Cap. III, p. 27; IV, 30). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. V, p. 462). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. III, p. 82; IV, p. 84; Lib. III, cap. XXII, p. 299). *Vetancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. Io, cap. IX, p. 261; cap. X, p. 265 and 266). *Granados y Galvez* (*Tarde Quinta*, p. 151). *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 97; cap. XIII, p. 110; cap. XIV, p. 116, 124; cap. XV. p. 130 and 131). He affirms that "Humming Bird" was the first "King of the Mexicans," which, however, is expressly disproved by other authors.

[37] *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*" cap. I, p. 6), mentions the four old men who carried the so-called sister of Huitzilopochtli, "y á esto dijo Tlamacazqui Huitzilopochtli á los viejos

settlement is not stated, but while some sources mention *twenty* 618
chiefs as composing the original council of the tribe, others speak of but *ten leaders*. This might, according to the view taken, indicate in both instances *ten* kins, or *twenty* in the former and *ten* in the latter. At any rate the number is larger than that originally composing the tribe, thus showing that the segmentation so characteristic of tribal society according to Mr. Morgan, had already begun. Of the government of the tribe Clavigero says: "The 645
whole nation was under a senate or college of the most promi- 643
nent men."[43] No mention is made anywhere of a head-war-chief

---

[43] *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 190). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 94. Lib. III, 618
cap. XXII. pp. 289, 290, and 291). *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 47).

It is difficult to ascertain the actual number of kins composing the Mexican tribe at at that time. The number of chiefs and their names are variously stated. *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 47), mentions six chiefs and four priests. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148), mentions ten chiefs. The "*Codex Mendoza*" also says ten chiefs (Tab. I, Vol. I, Kingsborough). *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p, 190. note r), mentions twenty. It is interesting to compare the names, also those of the twenty leaders of *Torquemada* (Lib II, cap, III, p. 88), with those of the twenty "barrios" of Vetancurt.

Durán.	*Mendieta.*	*Torquemada.*	*Clavigero.*	*"Barrios" of Vetancurt.*
Acacitli,	*Acacitli*,	*Acacitli*,	*Acacitli*,	Tzapotla,
Tenoch,	*Tenuch*,	*Tenoca*,	*Tenoch*,	Huehuecalco,
Meci,	Tecineutl	*Nanacatzin*,	*Nanacatzin*,	Tecpancaltitlan,
Ahuexotl,	*Auexotl*,	*Ahuexotl*,	*Ahuexotl*,	Cihuateocaltitlan,
Ocelopan,	*Ocelopan*,	*Ocelopan*,	*Ocelopan*,	Yopico,
Teçacatetl,	Quahpan,	*Teçacatetl*,	*Tezacatl*,	Teocaltitlan,
Quauhtloquetzqui,	*Xomimitl*,	*Xomimitl*,	*Xomimitl*,	Tlaxilpan,
Ococal,	Xocoyal,	*Quentzin*,	*Quentzin*,	Tequicaltitlan,
Chachalaitl,	*Xiuhcaqui*.	*Xiuhcac*,	*Xiuhcac*,	Atlampa,
Axolohua.	Atototl.	*Axolohua*,	*Axolohua*,	Tlacacomoco,
		Tlalala,	Tlalala.	Amanalco,
		Tzontliyayauh,	Tzontliyagautl,	Tepetitlan,
		Tuzpan,	Tochpan,	Atizapan,
		Tetepan,	Tetepan,	Xihuitengo,
		Coara,	Coxcatl,	Tequixquipan,
		Ahatl,	Atzin.	Mecaltitlan,
		Achitomecatl,	Achitomecatl,	Xoloco,
		Acohuatl,	Acohatl,	Chichimecapan,
		Mimich,	Mimich,	Copolco,
		Tezca.	*Tezcatl*.	*Tezcatzonco*.

I have italicized such names as are alike. We see that of the ten chiefs named by Durán and Mendieta, six are also named by the two other authorities. As might be expected, there is hardly any concordance between these names of chiefs and those of the Mexican "barrios."

If it were known to us whether, in this case, each "chief" represented a kin only, 618
or whether Durán, Tezozomoc, and Mendieta alone indicated the true number, we 779
could or might, of course, determine the number of the calpulli. That the chief is used to denote his kinship in the old authors is distinctly stated by *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, p. 234). This chapter relates the mission of sixty "wizards" ("brujos"-"hechiceros,") sent by the chief "Montezuma Ilhuicamina" (the first "stern or wrathy chief" of that name), to an old woman or goddess purported to be "Huitzilopochtli's" mother. Arrived before the old hag (as she is described), she inquires of them for her son and for

645 as yet; this peculiarly military office was not yet established in permanence. However, there are indications that one executive chieftain for tribal affairs may, at least rudimentarily, have existed namely: the "Snake-woman" (cihuacohuatl). But the attributes of this office did not assign to it any marked prominence.[46]

174 The position of the Mexican tribe, about the middle of the fourteenth century, was still a very precarious one. With barely sufficient sod to dwell upon, blockaded, so to say, by powerful tribes along the lake shore; with the independent cluster of Tlatilulco, jealous and threatening, within an arrow-shot of its homes, it was forced into a peculiar attitude of military defence. The elements for a warlike organization were contained in the autonomous kins, which were grouped into the still larger cluster of the brotherhood, and all together composing the tribe. The leaders were found in the officers and chiefs of the kins. But the state of insecurity then prevailing required an office whose incumbent should be in constant charge of the military affairs of the tribe. This was plainly within the scope of tribal society; such functions had already been exercised previously, in times of particular need. Now, under the pressure of circumstances, and with a permanent settlement, permanence of the charge became a necessity.[47]

[618
773] the seven chiefs "which seven went for leaders of each quarter" (p. 222). The wizards reply (among other things): "Great and powerful Lady (?) we have neither seen, nor spoken to, the chiefs of the *calpules*." Judging from this, the original number of them was *ten*, and it is presumable that if such was the case they were the *war-chiefs*, whereas the others were more properly the administrative officers analogous to the "*sachems*" of the Iroquois. (Compare *Morgan*, "*Ancient Society*." Part II, cap. II, pp. 71, 72, and 73. Cap. IV, p. 114. Cap. V, pp. 129, 130, etc., etc., to 148). We shall have occasion to return to this again in a subsequent note.

[46] The office of "Cihuacohuatl" is very old. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones*" "*Segunda Relacion*," pp. 333 and 334), after speaking of the seven leaders of the Toltecs, mentions "Ziuhcoatl" tambien uno de los cinco capitanes inferiores" as discoverer of Jalisco. Confirmed (the last mention excepted) by *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap. XIV, p. 37). *Veytia* (Lib. I, cap. XXII, p. 220). The "*Codex Mendoza*" (Plate II in Vol. I of Lord Kingsborough), represents the first regular head-war-chief of the Mexicans, "Handful of Reeds" (Acamapichtli) with a head and face of a woman and snake surmounting his own head or rather the forehead, whereas the "name" proper stands, as usual, behind the occiput. The expanatory note thereto (Vol. VI, p. 8), says: "The first figure probably denotes that Acamapichtli, before he was elected king, possessed the title of Cihuacohuotl, or supreme governor of the Mexicans; when Mexico afterwards became a Monarchy this title was retained."

[47] *Duran* (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 44). *Acosta* (Lib. III, cap. 8, p. 468). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII, p. 62). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 95). "The cause of his election was the increase in numbers, and their being surrounded by enemies who made war upon them and damaged them." "La causa de su eleccion, fue, aver crecido en numero, y estár mui rodeados de Enemigos, que les hacian guerra, y afligian."

Therefore, near the eighth decade of the fourteenth century, 174 or about thirty years after the settlement of Mexico, the office 643 of "chief of men" (Tlacatecuhtli) appears to have been established.[48] 666 This is commonly heralded as the creation of monarchy, thus abolishing the basis of organization, or tribal society itself. It is however overlooked that only an office was created, and not a hereditary dignity with power to rule.[49] Its first incumbent, "Handful of Reeds" (Acamapichtli), was duly elected, and so were his successors.[50] We have already seen that the Mexican family itself was so imperfectly constituted as to preclude the notion of a dynasty, and it was therefore, as we shall further establish, to the "kin" that the so-called succession or rather the choice was limited.[51] We do not know, nor would it be safe to guess, *which*

Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XVIII, p. 159; cap. XXI, pp. 166 and 167). *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, pp. 190 and 191). It was a military measure.

[48] The dates are variously given. *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 53), says 1364, or rather he states that "Handful of Reeds" died at the age of 60, and that his death occurred 1404. He had been elected when 20 years old, therefore forty years previous to the latter date, or in 1364, A. D. *Vetancurt* (Parte IIa, trat. I, cap. XI, p. 270), says 3d of May, 1361, or 1366. According to *Sahagun*, and from his lists of Mexican "Kings" (Lib. VIII, cap. I, pp. 268-271), it would be about 1369, but (Lib. VIII, cap. V, p. 280), he says he was elected in 1384. *Veytia* (quoting also *Carlos de Siguenza*), says (Lib. II, cap. XXI, pp. 166 and 168), 1361. *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 190. Appendix to 1st Vol., p. 598. Vol. II, Sec'd Dissertation, Cap. II, p. 327), says 1352. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148), 1375. In the "*Real Ejecutoria*" (Col. de Doc., Vol. II, p. 9), a date 1384 appears, but this date is of doubtful origin. The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Vol. I, Kingsb., Plate I, and Explanation, Vol. VI, p. 134), says in the year 11. cane, ("Acatl") or 1399. *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. V, cap. VI, p. 356); 1350. *Prof. Valentini* ("The Mexican Calendar-Stone," p. 109), 13, Acatl, or 1375.

In regard to the title of "Tlacatecuhtli" compare "*Art of War*," (p. 122, note 104). There is a singular analogy between it and the title of "*Great War Soldier*," given by the Iroquois confederacy to its head-war-chiefs ("*Ancient Society*," p. 146). Under "men" the Mexicans also understood "braves." Therefore "chief of the braves" also.

[49] In a general way, the following passages are interesting. *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 496), "because in these times the brothers, sons of the King inherited one another, although from what I have noted of this history, there was no heredity nor succession, but that only those which the electors chose, whether brother or son, nephew or cousin, in the second degree, of him who died, and this order it strikes me they carried (on) in all their elections, and so I believe that many of those who clamor and pray for lordships ("señorios") because of their fathers having been Kings and Lords at the time of their infidelity do not, as I understand, justly claim ("no piden justicia"). For according to their ancient law there were rather elections than successions and inheritances, in all kinds of lordships." I shall give the full text of this very important passage further on. *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 356). "Of the Mexican republic I confess this manner of succession, and that sometimes they were elected without regard to anything save their personal qualification."

[50] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318).

[51] Compare *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, pp. 498 and 499). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 356). The former says in addition to what is quoted in note 49. "In all the other lordship I only found but elections and the will of the electors, and thus they never could fail to have a King of that lineage, even to the end of the world, because if to-

174
643 was the particular "calpulli" of Mexico who furnished the Mexi-
666 can head-war-chiefs down to 1520 A. D.

174 Analogous to the New Mexican pueblo, the tribe of Mexico
643 had, from that time on, its supreme council and finally two executive head-chiefs; for with the creation of the military office of "chief of men," the "Snake-woman" rose correspondingly in importance.[52] No change in that organization took place until the Spanish conquest although within the period of nearly one hundred and fifty years (approximately) thus indicated, we find, at three distinct epochs, mention of virtual changes or subversions of the aboriginal institutions of the Mexican tribe.

174 The first one of these critical dates agrees with the third decade
631 of the fifteenth century, or the time when, through a well executed dash, the Mexicans overthrew the power of the Tecpanecas on the mainland.

This successful move, perhaps originally conceived in self-defence, finally brought about the confederacy of the "nahuatl" tribes of Mexico, Tezcuco, and of Tlacopan. We have nothing to add to our first picture of this military partnership, as drawn in "Tenure of Lands."[53] Still the event deserves special men-

---

day they elected the brother, to-morrow they elected the "grandson, and the day after the nephew, and thus they went through the whole lineage without any end" This is a plain description of the succession of office in the kin. Torquemada is about equally explicit, and this agreement between two authors who represent antagonistic tribal traditions, is certainly of great weight. To this should be added the statement of *Sahagun* (Vol. II, p. 318), "and (they) selected one of the most noble ones of the lineage ("linea") of the lords post." Even the series of contradictions of *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," pp. 19-20), contain a plain description (if attentively studied) of succession in the kin, and not in the family.

[52] At the time Francisco Vasquez de Coronado reached and conquered New Mexico, its sedentary Indians were governed by a council of old men, and besides they had governors and captains. This is explicitly stated by *Pedro de Castañeda y Nagera*, ("*Relation du Voyage de Cibola, entrepris en 1540,*"), who went with Coronado in 1540, in the French translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, 1838 (Cap. XI, p. 61), about Tuscayan Cibola, although flatly contradicted again by himself (Part. II, cap. III, p. 164), in regard to Cibola. *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XL, p. 661), mentions the "mandòn" (commander) and after him what he calls a "crier" "y despues de èl, es el que pregona, y avisa las cosas, que son de Republica, y que se han de hacer en el Pueblo." The same author is also very explicit (Lib. XI, cap. XVII, p. 337), when he distinctly states: "El Govierno de los del Nuevo-Mexico parece de Senado, ù de Señoria," mentioning also the two other officers.

For the actually prevailing governmental system of the New-Mexican Pueblos the sources are very numerous. I simply refer to *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. I, pp. 546 and 547), *W. W. H. Davis* ("*The Spanish Conquest of New-Mexico,*" 1869, p. 415, note 4), *Oscar Loew* ("*Lieutenant G. M. Wheeler's Zweite Expedition nach New-Mexiko und Colorado, 1874,*" in Petermann's "*Geographische Mittheilungen,*" Vol. 22, p. 212). All the other main sources it would be useless to enumerate.

[53] Pp. 416, 417, and 418, and notes 61 to 70 inclusive. Also note 4 of this paper. In re-

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

This incident in Mexican history does not exhibit any features 175 different from those found at the basis of tribal society, and it is 643 642 not until the first decade of the sixteenth century that we are referred to the period when aboriginal institutions of ancient Mexico emerged from their former condition into that of political society proper and exhibited the features of rule as despotic as any on the three eastern continents. Even Robertson has so far yielded to this preconceived idea as to write, "This appearance of inconsistency has arisen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aspiring ambition subverted the original system of government, and introduced a pure despotism. He disregarded the ancient laws, violated the privileges held most sacred, and reduced his subjects of every order to the level of slaves."[60] In general, many deeds, creditable and disreputable, are charged to that ill-starred "chief of men" of the Mexican tribe, whose tragical death has furnished a welcome topic to the most brilliant writers. "Wrathy chief" (Motecuzumah or Montezuma) was however innocent of many or of the most, if

---

seis parcialidades, que cada cual tiene sus barrios." This is indefinite and vague, and [142 we are still left in doubt as to whether there were only six or whether there were more. 618] The words "each of which has its quarters" would indicate that each of these "parcialidades" was divided into smaller ones. Still, "parcialidad" and "barrio" are regarded as equivalent terms, and both signify *kins*. The history of the capture of the Mexican pueblo has, in some details of the siege, preserved to us the names of some aboriginal "barrios" of Tlatilulco. *Vetancurt* (Vol. II, Part. III, Trat. II, cap. VII, p. 194) mentions two of them: "Yocacolco" (with the ermita of Santa-Ana) and "Amazac" (ermita of Santa Lucia), the latter of which is again named (Cap. X, p. 206) by him, and by Torquemada also. *Torquemada* gives a number of names even: Nonohualco (Lib. IV, cap. XCIII, pp. 551, 558), Yacocalco (p. 556), Tlacuchcalco (p. 558), Amazac, Coyonacazco (p. 552). This gives the names of five barrios of Tlatilulco. If to this we add "el Barrio, que se llama Xocotitlan, que es agora San Francisco, que por otro nombre se llama Cihuatecpan," (p. 553), we would have the sixth quarter also.

That the administration of Tlatilulco remained separate from that of Tenuchtitlan is proven by the fact that Montezuma was assisted by twenty chiefs corresponding to the twenty kins of the *Tenuchca only*, and without representation for the Tlatilulca. See *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCV, p. 95, Vedia II). But the war-chief of Tlatilulco was present at the council. Thus "Itzquauhtin" is frequently mentioned as the companion of Montezuma. *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XVI, p. 24; cap. XVII, p. 25; cap. XXI, p. 29; cap. XXIII, p. 31). *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. LXX, pp. 498, 499). *Vetancurt* (Vol. II, cap. XV, Parte III, p. 132). *Clavigero* (Vol. II, Lib. IX, cap. XIX, p. 153).

Of the hatred between Mexicans proper and Tlatilulca the last days of the siege of Mexico furnish numerous instances. Both *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XCII, p. 550) [648] and *Vetancurt* (Parte III, cap. VI of 2d Trat., p. 133) mention the flight of the former into Tlatilulco as taking refuge among enemies. Finally the following passage is sufficiently plain: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 271), "E fué tanta la pertinacia de los Mexicanos, que hasta que los españoles vinieron à la tierra no les dejaron tomar â libertad ninguna, ni â tener templo particular."

[60] "*History of America*," (9th Edition, 1800, Vol. III, Book VII, p. 291).

175 not all of these good or bad actions, and this simply for the reason 643 that he had not the power to commit them. Thus he is charged 642 with remodelling his household, removing certain assistants, and filling the vacancies with "scions of noble stock," creating, at the same time, hereditary charges. It may be that, in the case of simple runners for instance, the "chief of men" held ample authority to select his men, consequently to remove them; but it is certain that for any office of permanence with the kin or tribe, he had not the least discretionary power. How insignificant his influence even was, when severed from organized tribal government, is amply shown by his utter helplessness from the very moment that the Spaniards had *once* treated him as a fettered captive.[61]

---

[61] The name is variously written "Mutizuma," "Muteczuma," "Moctezuma," "Montezuma," "Moctheuzoma," "Motecuhsoma;" and "Señor severo," is the most current interpretation. On the tables of *Durán* (Trat. I. Lam. 7, 8, 9, 21. 22, 24, 26) and in general, the "name" is painted as the head-dress ("Xiuhhuitzolli") of a chieftain, transpierced by an arrow. The etymology may be: "mo"—"thine," "tecuhtli"—"chief," and "çumale"—"furious and wrathy" (*Molina*, II, p. 26), therefore "wrathy chief," or "stern chief." Aside from the charges prefered against him by Ixtlilxochitl and his "school" of subverting gradually the basis of the confederacy, Mexican authors accuse him of having revolutionised the institutions of his own tribe. These reports have been beautifully remodelled into classical English by *Mr. Prescott* ("*Conquest of Mexico*," Book II, cap. VI, pp. 309 and 310). *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. V, pp. 457, 473, 474, 475, etc.), is equally careful in reproducing all such tales, or a résumé thereof, in a shape more palatable to refined and impressionable readers.

The substance of these accusations becomes, however, reduced to the following statements, as expressed by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXIII, pp. 145 and 146): "He said once to Zihuacoatl Tilpotonqui: I have thought it might be well to change the manner in which the chiefs and messengers should be selected and to establish a different way from that introduced under my uncle Ahuitzotl. Let those serving within their lifetime, be dismissed and others put in their places, elected from the four quarters of Moyotlan, Teopan, Aztacualco, and Cuepopan,—which shall be children of chiefs, and shall stay at the huehuecalli, or houses of the community, with the chief-steward dwelling near by. Some of the principals of this tribe now have sons, begotten from slaves, now—these are principals, and let them become delegates (ambassadors, messengers, "embajadores"), and not be cast aside for a miserable macehual who because he is Tequihua, Cacauhtli, or Cuachic, Otomies, should therefore be set over the principal Mexican chiefs, and the sons of head-chiefs (Kings, "reyes") . . . . . . What I want is to bring forth those children of chieftains, which have been forgotten so long, and that such as held the office under the chief Ahuitzotl and your father Zihuacoatl may return to rest. . . . . Zihuacoatl then called together the council: "al palacio comun," and submitted to them this suggestion, "of which they were all satisfied." With this resolution Zihuacoatl went to the chief and said: I do not want them to be of age now, but only ten or twelve years old, that they may be instructed properly, and become skilled in speaking, well disposed, like unto pages to the chieftain. When they had come before Zihuacoatl, as second person of the chief, he made a long speech to them concerning their line of conduct: Every day you shall attend to Huitzilopochtli and to the chief, rising early for orations, and doing the same at nightfall, to become expert in the ways of penitence and sacrifice. Then you shall cleanse the temple, and the chief-house, afterwards have it swept before he comes

It is therefore vain to look for any important change in the 174
institutions of the ancient Mexicans even at this third and latest
date, which was the last chance, so to say, if any at all, for such

out. Keep your dresses clean and in order, also his own dress and ornaments; his 175
tress, medal, and chain; also every five days his blow-tube and bow, that he may 642
recreate himself with it. Attend to him at meal-time, morning and evening, serving
him with cacao, roses, perfumes, with much humility and respect, never looking into 643
his face under pain of death. Take care that the cooking be well done, and that the stewards provide for everything. But, while there you stay, beware, for many women of worth are seen there, and to whose needs you have also to attend,—watch your behavior, for should you attempt anything against them, you and your relations will be driven off, and if you commit any bad action with any of these women, your fathers houses will be razed, salt strewn over their ruins, and you and your lineage must perish." At the close of this and other (less important) talk it is said: "and in course of time they became so well bred, refined, and instructed, and skilful, that they were of the most prominent chieftains and leading men in this house and court." *Durán* (Cap. LII, pp. 416–422) does not fail to confirm the statements of Tezozomoc, extending, however, the removals to nearly all the offices: "asi en el servicio de sus casa y persona, como en el régimen de la provincia y reyno" (p. 417); also excluding illegitimate offspring ("ningun bastardo"), and giving a number of more or less pertinent details. He even asserts that the officers of the kins were removed. In short, he represents it as the introduction of absolute despotism, surrounding at the same time the throne by a powerful nobility. *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. 21, p. 506) and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIV, p. 66), "porqué mandó, que no le sirviesen sino nobles, i que la Gente Ilustre estuviese en su Palacio, i exercitase oficios de su Casa, i Corte." *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIX, p. 196), *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. XIX, p. 328), and others, confirm, although in a more concise style than the first named authors. It is evident that all these authors must have gathered from the same source, which cannot be *Sahagun*, nor *Motolinía*, neither *Mendieta*, nor any of the known conquerors. The story, as told and detailed by Durán, presupposes a class of hereditary nobles, already formed and in full vigor, but excluded in part from tenure of office or rather sharing such right of tenure equally with those of the common class. This is distinctly acknowledged by Tezozomoc, and more particularly yet by Durán himself: "y mudar todos los que su tio Auitzotl auia puesto y de los que se auia servido, porque munchas dellos eran de baxa suerte y hijos de hombres baxos," p. 417, etc. Now I have proven ("*Tenure of Lands*, pp. 419, 420, 421, etc., to p. 440) that there was no privileged class based on tenure of the soil. The revolution assumed presupposes that there was, up to the last "wrathy chief," no class of nobles in exclusive possession of the offices, consequently, even if the "chief of men" in question had any inclination or desire to oust the "common people" from their official positions, the main desideratum, namely, the "uncommon" ones wherewith to replace them, and for whose benefit the whole affair was planned, were not on hand. For nobility not based on hereditary ownership, or hereditary command of some kind, is no nobility at all. As far as heredity of office is concerned, Durán himself is one of the most powerful witnesses against it (*e. g.*, Cap. LXIV, pp. 498 and 499). If, therefore, "wrathy chief" created a class of privileged office-holders, about the year 1503, it must have been very short-lived, for it was certainly out of existence sixteen years later, at the beginning of the Spanish conquest.

The version of Tezozomoc is evidently the correct one, and thus the whole story dwindles down to the selection of certain boys, probably of his own kin, for the special service of the tribal house of government, which took place *with the knowledge and consent of the council only*. Whether this act, if converted into a custom, might have gradually merged into prevalence of a certain kin over the rest, is another question, which the intervening conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, has left without decisive answer. About the helplessness of Montezuma while a captive, see authors on the Conquest in general.

618 646 695 themselves until they finally agreed upon an award.[191] The same thing occurred when two calpulli claimed possession or enjoyment of the same piece of land.[192] No appeal was possible to any higher authority; but every eighty days an extraordinary gathering took place at the "tecpan," consisting of the council and the executive chieftains, the war-captains of the four great quarters, the "elder brothers" of the kins, and the leading medicine-men, and any cause pending before the "tlatocan" might be deferred until the next of these general meetings; and even in case a decision had been rendered, a reconsideration thereof, on that occasion, was sometimes agreed upon.[193]

---

calls "supremo consejo:" "Tratábanse en este consejo todo género de negocios de estado, justicia, guerra, hacienda etc., etc."

[191] This picture is mainly based upon *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua*," III. cap. VII), and *Bustamente* ("*Tezcoco*," pp. 191 and 192). The statement in the latter is only worthy of credit because copied from the former.

[192] *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 207). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII. cap. XVI, y. 463). For a copy of the paintings reproduced, see *A. de Humboldt* ("*Vues des Cordillères*," etc., Vol. I, plate V. Ed. 8vo).

● [643 693] [193] I affirm this in the face of all the authorities on the subject, who, without exception, assert that there was an appeal to the "king." The *Codex Mendoza* (plate LXX, "Declaracion de la figurado") is even very positive: "Y si era negocio de calidad del consejo. havia apelacion por via de agravio ante Monteçuma, en donde habia conclusion de la causa." My opinion is based on what precedes about the authority of the council, on what I expect to prove in relation to the true nature of the duties of the head-chiefs and which will hereafter follow, and on the contradictions among the authors themselves. Thus the "*Codice Ramírez*" (p. 58) places the supreme power into the hands of the councils "sin parescer de los quales ninguna cosa se habia de hacer," and (pp. 64 and 65) it does not mention any power of appeal whatever. *Zurita* (pp. 100 and 101): "Les appels étaient portés devant douze autres juges supérieurs qui prononçaient d'apres l'avis du souverain." It is queer to notice, how the writers of the tezcucan school, appear eager to place the power of final decree or the decision of final appeal in a "high tribunal," or rather simply a supreme council of their tribe. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XXXXI, p. 146) mentions a supreme council, "á los quales avian de venir todas las cosas graves, y criminales, para que ellos, con el Rei, las determinasen." (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 354): "Para estos dos Jueces Supremos se apelaban las causas graves, los quales las admitian, pero no determinaban, ni sentenciaban, sin parecer, y acuerdo de el Rei." *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, p. 199) speaks of the establishment of "tribunals" by "Fasting wolf" ("Nezahualcoyotl"—properly "fasting coyote"), and adds: "pero concediendo á las partes el recurso de apelacion para el gran tribunal de justicia que erigió en su córte de Tezcuco." This so-called tribunal was, as we have shown at the close of note 190, the "Council of the tribe." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 135) almost copies Zurita. *Sahagun* ("*Historia general*," etc., Lib. VIII, cap. XXV, p. 314): "y los casos muy dificultuosos y graves, llevábanlos al señor para que los sentenciase, juntamente con trece principales muy calificados, que con el andaban, y residian." "Estos tales eran los mayores jueces, que ellos llamaban tecutlatoque. . . ." In this case the learned father speaks of tribal jurisdiction and not of arbitration. Still it is plain that he admits the *council's decrees as final*. The chief, "señor," appears only as member of this council, a position of which we shall hereafter speak. Without making any further quotations from similar authorities, I beg to revert to those which place, *by the side of the so-called "King,"* an independent "supreme Judge"—the "Cihuacohuatl," whose tribunal

Aside from these arbitrative functions, other duties occupied the 646 council's time at its full meetings. If any calpulli felt wronged 618 in the distribution of the incoming tribute, it might through its delegate or "speaker,"[194] complain about the tribal officers answerable for it to the "tlatocan." The investiture of chiefs and officers of the kins belonged to the highest authority of the tribe

---

is positively mentioned as the final court of appeals. That this "Cihuacohuatl" [643 occupied a high position, was already noticed by *Cortés* ("*Carta tercera*," Vedia I, 693] p. [illegible]), and subsequently, when he became still more prominent, by *Tezozomoc*. But *Torquemada* has been to my knowledge, the first one to establish his position as independent supreme Judge. It is not devoid of interest to notice what he writes about this office. ("*Monarchia Indiana*," Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. [illegible]): "Despues del Rei, havia un Presidente, y Juez maior, cuio nombre, por raçon de el oficio, era Cihuacohuatl . . . . . . De este Presidente no se apelaba para el Rei, ni para otro Juez alguno, ni podia tener Teniente, ni substituto, sino que por su misma persona havia de determinar, y decidir todos los negocios de su juzgado, y audiencia." He further adds; "lo qual no corria en este dicho Juez Cihuacohuatl; porque de su ultima determinacion no habia recurso á otro." *Fray Augustin de Vetancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol. I, Parte 2a, Trat. 2°, cap. I, p. [illegible]): "Despues del Rey . . . habia un virey que llamaban Cihuacohuatl, que el rey proveia y era su segunda persona en el gobierno, de cuya sentencia no habia apelacion á otro. Tan absoluta era la autoridad que le daba, que reservando el rey en si la autoridad real, era en la judicatura igual." These statements distinctly hint at the existence of an appellate judicial body, of which this Cihuacohuatl was foreman, and over which the so-called "King" had no control. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 481) even states that while there was no appeal from the Cihuacohuatl whatever, there was one of these officers "at the court and the principal cities of the kingdom." These views in regard to the "Cihuacohuatl" have been plainly accepted by *W. H. Prescott* ("*Conquest of Mexico*," Vol. I, p. 29): "There was no appeal from his sentence to any other tribunal, not even to the king," and *H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, cap. XIV, pp. 434 and 435).

The confusion is apparent, for we have here three different views of the same case. One is that the "head-chief" was the highest appellate authority, the other that the head-chief, *with the council*, formed the court of last resort, and the third that a "supreme Judge" was appointed by the so-called "King" to render final decisions. Now we have already seen that the supreme authority was the council or "tlatocan," consequently what is commonly called the "king" could not be the last resort in judiciary matters, still less could he appoint an officer for that purpose. Our proposition appears, therefore, sustained, that there was no appeal from the decisions of the council to any superior authority whatever.

But, finally, it was possible to reconsider, so to say, the cases decided by the council, and for such the so-called "*Nauhpohualtlatolli*", or "*eighty days-talk*" was instituted. Authorities are almost unanimous on this point, although it is commonly ascribed to Tezcuco alone, and I refrain from quoting them in detail, referring but to *Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, p. [illegible], etc.).

[194] This becomes evident from the relative positions of kin and tribe. As we shall hereafter see, the officers gathering and those receiving the tribute were tribal officers, consequently subject to the council. It was to the council, therefore, that any complaint had to be brought against them, and this could be done only through the "speaker" of a particular kin. That the tribute was distributed partly among the "calpulli" is indicated by *Durán* (Cap. IX, p. 79): "Tambien diéron á sus barrios para el culto de sus dioses, á cada barrio una suerte, etc.," and *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," Cap. X, p. 18): "y aunque venian á darlo á Itzcoatl, era para todos los Mexicanos en comun."

646 We thus have found in the "tlatocan" or council, the high directive authority of the tribe, the arbitrator between its organic component parts, and the chief judicial power within the tribe. It is easy to recognize in it a counterpart to the council of the kin. 643 Like the kin also which, subordinate ~~to its~~ councils decrees had two superior officers for the execution thereof, the tribe had *two chief executive functionaries.*

Even at a comparatively remote period in the history of the ancient Mexicans we may discern two offices, not formally created, but naturally growing from what was left of tribal organization, which mark the beginning of a chief tribal executive. One of these is the "wise old man" conducting the "talk;"[294] the other is the "big warrior" who led the braves to battle.[295] The former subsequently became "foreman" in the council, the latter "war-chief" to the tribe. There are indications to the effect that, for a while, both offices were held by one person. From the time the confederacy had been formed, however, we recognize two chief executive agents,[296] one of which is called the "Snake-woman"

Vedia I): "Los Jueces eran doce . . ." with a higher court of two; therefore, in all fourteen, equal to the thirteen of Sahagun with the "Señor" added. *Zurita* ("*Rapport,*" etc., pp. 100 and 105): "Les douze juges d'appel . . ." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 135) copies Zurita almost literally. By the side of this early Franciscan group of writers, there is the picture drawn by the two great Franciscans, Torquemada and Vetancurt, representing a supreme Judge, "Cihuacohuatl," and four tribunals beneath him in authority. This picture is evidently based on such paintings as the "*Codex Mendoza*" (plates LXIX and LXX). In my opinion the thirteen Judges of Sahagun should be connected with the judicial offices mentioned by Cortés as sitting at the "tecpan" (see note 282), rather than regarded as constituting a court of appeals.

Finally, I refer to *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimeques,*" Cap. XXXVI and XXXVII), *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. VII, pp. 199 and 200) and others, in regard to Tezcuco. While they distinctly prove the subdivision, for judicial work, of the supreme council into two sections, they also show in a very marked manner, the confusion and contradiction arising from a misconception of the real case.

[294] Perhaps the earliest mention of such a "wise old man," foremost in the "talk," among the Mexicans proper, is that of the tale of the crafty old men, Huitziton and Tecpatzin, who are said to have persuaded the Mexicans to emigrate from Aztlan, as related by *Torquemada*, who is often copied (Lib. II, cap I, p. 78). In early times they are also called Captains and leaders, and must not be confounded with the "medicine-men" (Id., p. 78). Subsequently these latter sometimes appear as leading speakers. Much information can be gathered on this point by carefully and critically reading *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, XIII, XV and XVIII), *Codice Ramirez* (pp. 25 to 30), *Durán* (Cap. IV, V and VI). *Tezozomoc*(Cap. I, II and III).

[295] *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. II, pp. 80 and 81). *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano,*" Parte IIa, Trat. I, cap. IX, pp. 280, 281 and 282). They merely show that the office of "big warrior," existed.

[171] [296] This apportionment of the duties of chief-executive among two heads is found in many tribes of Mexico and Central America. Thus in Tlaxcallan, Maxixcatzin and Xicotencatl, the two head-chiefs, were alike and equal in power. (*Cortés*, "*Carta Segunda*" (pp. 18, 40). *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. LXVII, p. 60): "los dos mas prin-

("Cihua-cohuatl,") and the other (erroneously termed "King"), 643 the "chief of men" ("Tlaca-tecuhtli").

The "CIHUA-COHUATL" was elected by the council for life, or

cipales caciques." "*Anonymous Conqueror*" (p. 398): "anchora che in certo modo si 171 habbia rispetto á uno che e'el maggior Signore, che tiene teneva un Capitano generale per la guerra." *Motolinia*, "*Hist de los Indios*," etc. (Trat. III, cap. XVI, pp. 229 and 230). *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII. cap. III. p. 273) copies Cortés. *Gomara* (p. 332). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXII, p. 347) says four, of which Maxixcatzin was captain; though this is contradicted by the conquerors. Xicotencatl being war-chief. *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. X, p. 152) reports the speech of Xicotencatl: "que bien debia de saber, que era Xicotencatl Capitan General de la Republica de Tlaxcala," and especially his interesting tale of the Tlaxcaltecan council in Cap. III, pp. 139 and 140. *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXVI, p. 150): "el rey Xicotencatl," (Cap. LXXXVII, p. 153): "el rey Maxixcatzin." About Chalco, compare "*Tezcare of Landa*" (p. 397, note 16), also about Xochimilco and the Tecpanecas. In regard to the Matlatzinca, *Zurita* ("Rapport," etc., p. 390) says there were three chiefs, who occupied the highest power in succession. This statement is copied by *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib IV, cap. XVIII, p. 139). The *Totonacas* had two chiefs. *Duran* (Cap. XXI, p. 181. Cap. XXIV, p. 206). The "Cazonzi" of Michuacan is represented by *Herrera* (Dec. III. lib. III, cap. V, p. 86, VI, p. 87) as being assisted by "his captain-general," and the anonymous document copied by *Don Florencio Janér* from the Codex C-IV-5 of the Escurial Library and published, without date, though evidently written between 1534 and 1551, entitled "*Relacion de las ceremonias y ritos, poblacion y gobierno de los indios de la provincia de Mechuacan, hecha al Illmo Sr. D. Antonio de Mendoza, Virey y Gobernador de Nueva España*" says ("Primera Parte," p. 12): "pues habia un rey y tenia su gobernador, y un cápitan general en las guerras, y componiase como el mismo cazonci." This is very significant, especially because it is represented as being instituted by divine will. "Dicho sea en la primera parte, hablando de la historia del dios Curicaberis, como los dioses del cielo le dijeron como habia de ser rey, y que habia de conquistar toda la tierra, y que habia de haber uno que estuviese en su lugar, que entendiese en mandar traer leña para los ques." The evidence is positive about the QQuiché of Guatemala, and furthermore very interesting. *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 405 and 406) mentions three chiefs, in a manner exactly similar to those of Matlatzinco, and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 140) follows him implicitly. *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XVIII, pp. 339 and 340) is of the same opinion, although it is easy to see that in fact there were *two* head-chiefs and not three, since he says: "Era el primero de todos el Rey actual; es á saber, el Abuelo: luego el Rey electo para despues de sus Dias; tras él, el que tenia nombre de Electo, etc." Consequently there were always two with the principal title. *Pedro de Alvarado* ("*Relacion á Hernando Cortés*," Utlatlan, 11 of April, 1524, Vedia I, p. 458) speaks of "cuatro señores de la ciudad de Vtlatan." Another eye-witness of the conquest of Guatemala, *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. CLXIV, p. 230) speaks of "dos capitanes señores de Utatlan." We have fortunately, in regard to the tribes of QQuiché language, a very positive source of great value. This is the "*Popol-Vuh*" (p. 330). Enumerating the "Nim-Ha Chi Cavikib," it specifies from the fourth generation on ("U. cah. le"), always *two* chiefs, stating positively: "Oxib-Quieh, Beleheb-Tzi, u cablahu-le ahauab. Are-cut que ahanaric ta x-ul Donadiu, x-e hitzaxic rumal Caxtilan vinak" (p. 336). Consequently Alvarado executed *two* chiefs. Besides (p. 340), it even mentions their last successors, with Spanish names. At the close three "great-elected ones" ("Nim-Chocoh") are mentioned, but only two are named, the one from "Nihaib" and the other *from* "Ahau-QQuiche." We find here the exact counterpart of the Mexicans, before their fight with Tlatelulco,—two chiefs of Mexico, and two chiefs of Tlatelulco; Moquihuix and Teconal. See the authors on that subject. In regard to the Maya of Yucatan, see *Lizana* ("*Devocionario de Nuestra Señora de Izamal*," §IV), also *Villagutierre y Sotomayor* ("*Historia de la Conquista y Reducciones de los Itzaex y Lacandones*," Lib. VIII, cap. XVI, p. 514)

643 during good behavior.[907] We find in the Codex Mendoza — the earliest date connected with the office — the symbol of "snake-woman" affixed to the head of "Handful of Reeds," who was inaugurated "chief of men" in 1375.[908] The inference may be permitted, therefore, that at one time both offices were held by one and the same incumbent. At all events, the "Cihuacohuatl" becomes prominent only after the formation of the tri-partite confederacy embracing the Nahuatl tribes of Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan.[909] But the position which he occupies thereafter is a

---

[907] Most of the older authors assert that the "Cihuacohuatl" was appointed by the "King." How was it possible for an officer to appoint his own equal, or associate officer? *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. [illegible]), says: "Despues del Rei, havia un Presidente, y juez mayor, cuio nombre, por raçon de el oficio, era Cihuacohuatl: este oficio se proveia por el mismo Rei;" and again he concedes to the Cihuacohuatl "porque de su ultima determinacion no havia recurso à otro . . . . aqui parece lo mismo que reservando el Rei Mexicano para si, la autoridad Real, le hace su igual en la judicatura; y añade, que parte de sus Determinaciones, y Sentencias, no tengan recurso al Rei. que es condicion, y calidad, que engrandece mas la Persona de el Cihuacohuatl." Now, either the Mexicans were under a constitutional monarchy of the most improved kind,— of which there is no evidence since there was not even a division of powers,— or else the Cihuacohuatl was not appointed, but *elected* in true democratic fashion. *Vetancurt* (Parte II, Trat. II, cap. I. p. [illegible]) is still plainer: "Tan absoluta era la autoridad que le daba, que reservando el rey en si la autoridad real, era en la judicatura igual." Such an officer could only be appointed (if he was appointed and not elected), by the highest authority of the tribe, which was the council. Such is the version of *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*" Cap. LXXIX, p. 137): "y acabado de celebrar su entierro y quemazon de su cuerpo, que lo sintió mucho el rey Ahuitzótl, *pusieron* en su lugar su hijo Tlilpotonqui, Zihuacohuatl por sobrenombre." *Codice Ramirez* (p. 67): "Antes que *fuesse* coronado recien electo adolesció el *famoso* y sabio capitan Tlacaellel, de la qual enfermedad murió; en el articulo de su muerte llamó al Rey electo y le encargó mucho á sus hijos, especialmente al mayor, que daba muestras de ser muy valeroso, y habia hecho grandes hazañas en las guerras. El nuevo Rey por consolarle despues de haberle hablado muy tiernamente con muchas lágrimas, hizo llamar á los de su consejo real y rodeados todos del lecho de Tlacaellel mandó llamar el Rey al hijo mayor de Tlacaellel, y allí en presencia de su padre y de su consejo, le dió el mismo oficio de su padre, de capitan general y segundo de su corte con todas las preeminencias que su padre tenía." Even if there had been such an officer as a "King of Mexico" he could not have "appointed" anybody before his coronation. The ceremony indicated was therefore an *election by the council*. This is fully confirmed by *Durán* (Cap. XLVIII, p. 381): "llamando al hijo mayor, con parecer de todos los grandes, lo puso en la misma dinidad que el padre auia tenido, que era ser segundo despues del Rey en la corte, y mandó fuese honrado con la mesma veneracion que su padre auia sido juràndolee todos por principe de México, al qual le *fué* puesto el nombre de Ciuacoatl."

[908] "*Codex Mendoza*" (Tab. II), and the explanation says: "Las dos figuras con sus titulos é nombres de Acamapichtli son una misma cosa reservida en substancia, por que la primera figura demuestra el principio subcesion del dicho señorio . ." In note (p. 3, Vol. VI) of "*Antiquities of Mexico*," Lord Kingsborough adds the very sensible remark: "The first figure probably denotes that Acamapichtli, before he was elected King, possessed the title of Cihuacohuatl, or supreme governor of the Mexicans; when Mexico afterwards became a monarchy, this title was retained." The token for "Cihuacohuatl" a female head surmounted by a snake, is also *found* in the pictures of *Durán* (Lam. 8a).

[909] *Durán* (Cap. XXIV, p. 200): "Montezuma se voluió a ciuacoatl Tlacaellel, que

very important one. The most specific Mexican chronicles call 643 him "coadjutor to the King," "second King," "governor."[210] By other authorities he is mentioned as "vice-roy,"[211] and more frequently yet as "supreme judge."[212] Finally, eye-witnesses of the conquest apply to the "snake-woman" the titles of "keeper of the tribute"[213] and "captain-general" of the Mexicans.[214]

---

le avia puesto por renombre y grandeza aquel nuevo ditado que." *Tezozomoc* ("Crónica," cap. XXXIX, p. 60) mentions the title together with the first actions of "wrathy chief," the Elder. But it also appears to have been very much older. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones históricas*" *Segunda Relacion*, p. 323, Vol. IX of Kingsborough), speaking of the migrations of the Toltecs says: "llegaron á Xalisco, tierra que estaba cerca de la mar, y aquí estuvieron ochò años, siendo descubridor Zuihcohuatl, tambien uno de los cinco capitanes inferiores." *Veytia* (Lib. I, cap. XXII, p. 250) attributes to the same the discovery of another region. It appears as if this title,— whose origin we may speculate upon but, as yet, without any hope of positive results,— was always in existence, but appeared as a distinct office only after the confederacy had been formed. A historical question of some interest looms up here: whether or not the first reported incumbent of the office after the formation of the confederacy, Atempanecatl Tlacaeleltzin, really existed. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIV, p. 171) denies his existence, and perhaps hints at the "Codice Ramirez" when he speaks of "la mala, y falsa Relacion, que de esto tuvo, que yo tengo en mi poder escrita de mano, con el mismo lenguage, y estilo." *Sr. José F. Ramirez* already noticed this sally of the provincial, in note 1 (p. [illegible]) of *Durán*, "*Hist. de las Indias*," etc., and recognized it at once as applying to the Codice R. *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. I, p. 22, etc.) acknowledges the existence of Tlacaelel, so does of course *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18), and all those who followed the same sources as the "Codex Ramirez." The present city of Mexico, however, has two monuments which, to my judgment, establish beyond a doubt the existence of this Tlacaelel. One of these is the "Stone of Sacrifice," and the other a commemorative slab, figured and described in No. 2 of Vol. I. "*Anales del Museo Nacional de México*," by the great Mexican scholar, Sr. Orozco y Berra. See my article in No. I, Vol. II of the "*American Antiquarian*," "*The National Museum of Mexico and the* [illegible]*rificial Stone*" (pp. 25 and 27). 776

[210] For these titles I refer in general to the *Codice Ramirez*, *Durán*, and *Tezozomoc*. Quotations are useless and would only serve to increase the size of the volume.

[211] Already *Tezozomoc* mentions him a "teniente." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 352). *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte IIa, Trat. IIº, cap. I, p. 369): "Despues del Rey que heredaba, como se ha visto guardando el órden de la sangre real, habia un virey que llamaban Cihuacohuatl, que el rey proveia y era su segunda persona en el gobierno, de cuya sentencia no habia apelacion al rey."

[212] *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 352). *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro*," p. 369). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 481). *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," B'k I, cap. II, p. 29). *H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, cap. XIV, pp. 434 and 435). *Codex Mendoza* (Tab. LXIX, "Myxcoatlailotlac, Justicia mayor").

[213] *Bernal-Diez de Castillo* ("*Hist. verdadera, etc.*," Cap. XCI, p. 87, Vedia II): "Acuérdome que era en aquel tiempo su mayordomo un gran cacique que le pusimos por nombre Tapia, y tenia cuenta de todas las rentas que le traian al Montezuma, con sus libros hechos de papel, que se dice amatl, y tenia destos libros una gran casa dellos." Now this "Tapia" reappears again as "governor" of Mexico in different places. "*Relacion de la Jornada que hizo Don Francisco de Sandoval Acazitli, Cacique y Señor Natural que fué del pueblo de Tlalmanalco*" ("Col. de Documentos." Icazbalceta, p. 315, Vol. II): "y á solos los Mexicanos llevó, y fueron por sus caudillos Tapia y D. Martin el de Tlatelulco." "*Cuarta Relacion Anónima de la Jornada de Nuño de Guzman*" (Col. de Doc. II, p. 471): "Viendo el señor desta cibdad de México, que se llama Tapia." *Letter of the "Oydores" Salmeron, Maldonado, Ceynos, and Quiroga*

643 Every one of these designations conveys a certain amount of truth, though none of them adequately defines the office, the true nature and position of which become clear only through a glance at its 643 early history. Tribal executive as a permanent office, (which 174 must always be distinguished from a hereditary dignity), was created under the pressure of extreme need. The warrior who enjoyed the confidence of the tribe, who was not only daring and brave, but had also given proof of wisdom in the councils, became the people's choice as leader. The Mexicans were then in an attitude of defence; their own existence was at stake, and it was but natural, therefore, that the leading "talk" should be on military subjects, and that consequently the prominent war-captain should become the prominent "speaker," or foreman of the council.[215] In this manner we come to notice but *one* executive chief until the confederacy was formed. His duties were plain, even simple, at that time. He resided at the official house and superintended the exercise of tribal hospitality there; he was foreman to the council, and the leading executor of its decrees as far as tribal jurisdiction extended; he controlled the receiving and housing of the modest crops gathered from the "lands of the official-house" (tecpan-talli),[216] which, together with the customary pres-

---

(3d "*Recueil*" of "*Ternaux Compans*," dated Mexico, 14 August, 1531): "Ainsi l'on dit qu'un certain Tapico, qui gouvernait la partie du Mexique que l'on appelle Temixtitan." I find also the following in the municipal records of Mexico: "*Actas de Cabildo*" (Vol. I. p. 75; "Viernes 17 de Agosto 1526, años"): "Este dia de pedimento de Diego de Ordáz vecino de esta Cibdad le hizieron merced de le confirmar cierta compra que hize de Guanachel cacique que se llama Tapia de un sitio de casa que esta cabe San Francisco."

The "gobernador" of Mexico, after the conquest, and restoration under Spanish rule, was the former "*Cihuacohuatl*." This is plainly stated by *Cortés* ("*Carta Cuarta*," Vedia I, p. 110): "hice á un capitan general que en la guerra tenia, y yo conocia del tiempo de Muteczuma, que tomase cargo de la tornar á poblar. Y para que mas autoridad su persona tuviese, tornéle á dar el mismo cargo que en tiempo del señor tenia, que es cignacoat, que quiere tanto decir como lugar-teniente del señor." Therefore the appellation of Bernal-Diez. applies evidently to this officer.

[214] *Cortés* ("*Carta Tercera*," p. 81. "*Carta Cuarta*," p. 110, both in Vedia I). *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I. p. 393): "Vino Xihuacoa, gobernador y capitan general." *Herrera* (Dec. III. lib. II, cap. VII, p. 53) calls him "Guacoazin, Principal consejero del Rei, i su Lúgar teniente," *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. C, p. 567): "Salió un capitan, llamado Cihuacohuatl Tlacotzin."

[215] *Codice Ramirez* (pp. 34 and 35): "Mira, Señor, que vienes á ser amparo y sombra y abrigo desta nacion Mexicana . . . ." *Joseph de Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. VIII, p. 486). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 90): "La causa de su Eleccion, fue, aver crecido en numero, y estár mui rodeados de Enemigos, que les hacian Guerra, y afligian."

[216] "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 405, 406 and 419). I beg leave to correct here a mistake of mine in note 73, p. 420. At the close of said note it reads: "The above quotations show conclusively that the soil of the "tecpantlalli" was held and vested in the *King*

ents, constituted the tribal stores; finally he commanded the 643 people when in arms. The overthrow of the tribes of Azcaput- 174 zalco and Cuyuacan, by rendering these pueblos tributary, and compulsory allies of the Mexicans in warfare, suddenly increased these duties to such an extent that an assistant or colleague, a second head-chief, became necessary. Finally, when the confederacy came into existence, the first of these two chiefs was made its military commander, thus burthening him with duties of an extra-tribal nature.[217] He, therefore, had to relinquish a corresponding share of tribal business, which naturally fell to his associate. This associate, as we have already stated, was the "snake-woman" or "Cihuacohuatl," the proper head-chief of the Mexicans.

As daily leader of the council's "talk," the forenian of its delib- 643 erations, the "snake-woman" appears in the light of a judge, even of a supreme judge. But while, on all important occasions, he was the spokesman[218] of the council, and the awards he declared and the sentences he pronounced, were final and admitted of no appeal, yet it was only so because they emanated from the council, and not because they were his own individual decrees. He remained always subject to the authority of that body, and, in a general way, he can be said to have superintended the execution

---

. . ." In place of it, "vested in the *Kin*" is the proper reading. The mistake is wholly and exclusively mine—a "slip of the pen," which I neglected to correct in time.

[217] The Tezcucan writers, represented by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXII and XXXIV) claim the leadership for Tezcuco, but the facts disprove it. Compare also "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 416, 417 and 418).

[218] *Fragmento No.* 1 ("*Biblioteca Mexicana*"—"*Noticias relativas al Reinado de Motecuzuma Ilhuicamina*," p. 124): "Juntos los principales Mexicanos, el Rey les dixo lo que el Rey de Tetzcuco pedia, y todos dieron la mano á Tlacaellel, el cual respondió en nombre de todos á su Rey." *Durán* (Cap. XIV, p. 118): "Tlacaellel, que en todo era el primer voto y á quien se dava la mano en responder." (Cap. XV, p. 126): "Todos dieron la mano á Tlacaellel para que respondiese al rey." (Cap. XXIX, p. 240): "Tlacaellel, poniendose en pié, dixo desta manera, etc., etc." (Cap. XXXII, pp. 254 and 255, Cap. LIII, p. 417.) *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XVIII, p. 28. Cap. XIX, p. 30): "Y asi oydo esto por los principales Mexicanos tomó la mano de hablar Cihualcoatl Tlacaeleltzin y dijo: hijo y nuestro muy querido rey, os encargaos que veais muy bien lo que quereis hacer . . ." (Cap. XXI, p. 33): "Pasados algunos dias dijo el rey Moctezuma á Zihuacoatl Tlacatleltzin general y oydor . . ." "Llegados todos los señores de los dichos pueblos al palacio del rey Moctezuma, y sentados cada señor segun su merecimiento y valor de sus personas, digéron el rey Moctezuma, y sú presidente y capitan general Zihuacoatl Tlacatleltzin." (Cap. XXXI, p. 46). (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57): "que el primero era su real consergero Zihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin, . . ." (Cap. XXXIX, p. 64, Cap. XLIII, p. 69): "Luego en el palacio del rey Axayaca sin salir los grandes, ni nadie, prosiguió Zihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin . . ." Further quotations are superfluous, particularly from this author.

643 of its judicial decisions, although, as will be seen hereafter, this part of the duty was properly assigned to other officers.

The "Cihuacohuatl" was responsible to the council for the careful housing of the tribute received, as far as it was applied to tribal requirements, and for the faithful distribution of the remainder[219] among the kins. This, and the fact that he kept the
[65] paintings recording the tribute, has caused Bernal Diez de Castillo
212 to call him "mayordomo mayor," or general Intendant, and "keeper of the tribute" as we have already mentioned.[220]

How the "snake-woman" was the actual associate and colleague of that other chieftain who, after having been originally principal war-chief of the Mexicans, became at last commander of the confederate forces, we have already noticed.[221] We shall yet recur to the relative positions occupied by both officers, and merely 643 advert, here, to the fact, that, since the latter has commonly been called a monarch, the designations of "coadjutor to the King," "second-King," previously quoted, are explained, though not justified. The same explanation applies to the title of "vice-roy," or "royal lieutenant."

---

[219] This results from the authority exercised by the Zihuacoatl over the captives in war. I have already alluded to this feature, and now but recapitulate the following quotations: *Durán* (Cap. XIX. pp. 172 and 173). Also *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXIX. p. 45, Cap. XL., pp. 64 and 65, Cap. LXII, p. 104, Cap. LXVI, pp. 110, 111, Cap. LXX, p. 119), etc., etc.

[220] *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCI, p. 87, Vedia II): "Acuérdome que era en aquel tiempo su mayordomo mayor un gran cacique que le pusimos por nombre Tapia, y tenia cuenta de todas las rentas que le traian al Montezuma, con sus libros hechos de su papel, que se dice amatl, y tenia destos libros una gran casa dellos."

[221] There is no doubt in regard to the *equality of rank*, though the duties were somewhat different. "*Codice Ramirez*," (p. 66): "Concluidas las obsequias, el capitan general Tlacaellel que todavia era vivo, juntó los del consejo supremo . . . . . Estos juntos . . . . trataron de elegir nuevo Rey, y todos se encaminaban al valeroso Tlacaellel, el qual como otras veces, nunca quiso admitir el Reyno, dando por razon que más útil era á la República que hubiese Rey y coadjutor que le ayudasse como era él, y no solo el Rey . . . . . Però no por esto dejaba de tener tanta y mas autoridad que el mismo Rey, porque le respetaban y honraban, servian y tributaban como á Rey, y con mas temor, porque no se hazia en todo el Reyno mas que lo que él mandaba. Y assi usaba tiara y insignias de Rey, saliendo con ellas todas las vezes que el mismo Rey las sacaba." (P. 67), when the old Zihuacoatl died, his successor was elected: "con todas las preeminencias que su padre tenia." The "*Fragmento No. 1*" ("*Noticias relativas al Reinado de Motecuzuma Ilhuicamina*") is very positive also, almost always mentioning both officers together. *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 215): "Ordenóse que solo el rey y su coadjutor Tlacaellel pudiese traer çapatos en la casa Real y que ningun grande entrase calçado en palacio, so pena de la vida, y solo ellos pudiesen traer çapatos por la ciudad, y ningun otro . . . ."; (Cap. XXXII, p. 255): "Tlacaellel respondió: qué mas honra puedo yo tener que la que hasta aqui é tenido? qué mas señorio puedo tener del que tengo y e tenido? pues ninguna cosa los reyes pasados an hecho sin mi parecer y consejo en todos los negocios civiles y criminales . . ."; (Cap. LXI, p. 326), the speech of Tlacaellel there reported is rather too lengthy to copy. Its substance is contained in the closing words: "luego rey soy y por tal me aueis tenido; pues qué mas rey quereis que sea? y asi como asi tengo de tener el mismo oficio y exercicio, hasta que me muera . . . . Sosegaos, hijos mios, y hace mi voluntad, que ya yo soy rey, y rey me seré hasta que muera; . . ." (Cap. XLIV, p. 357): "el viejo Tlacaellel, á la mesma manera, al qual, dice esta ystoria, respetauan como á rey;" (Cap. XLVIII. p. 381): "el nombre de Ciuacoatl, que el padre tenia, el qual era ditado de mucha grandeça eredado de los dioses; y asi desde aquel dia le llamauavan Tlilpotonqui Ciuacoatl, que era sobre nombre diuino." *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap.

Finally, the "Cihuacohuatl" was ex-officio commander-in-chief of the Mexicans proper, whenever his colleague directed the entire confederate force.[222] If, however, this was not the case, then the

---

XXXIII, p. 53): "De la manera que fué vestido y adornado Moctezuma, lo fueron tambien Zihuacoatl y Tlacaeleltzin;" (Cap. XXXVI, p. 56): "pues solos dos eran los que havian de tener catles, que eran Moctezuma, Zihuacoatl y Tlacaeleltzin, como segunda persona del rey, porque se entendiése havian de ser temidos de todos los grandes del imperio;" (Cap. XL, p. 60). Speech of Tlacaelel: "tocante á lo que tratais del señorio, yo siempre lo he tenido y tengo, ... porque yo como segunda persona que siempre fui del rey y de los reyes pasados, etc." Further quotations from this author would become too numerous, consequently too bulky. Besides these sources, to which should be added *Joseph de Acosta* ("*Hist. nat. y moral.*" Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 494, Cap. XVIII, p. 495), we find significant testimony in two authors who certainly did not gather their information at the source, from which the above series of authors obtained theirs. I refer to *Juan de Torquemada* ("*Monarchia Indiana,*" Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 352): "Aqui parece lo mismo, que reservando el Rei Mexicano para si, la autoridad Real, le hace su igual en la Judicatura." *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano,*" Parte IIa, Tratado II°, cap. I, p. 369): "Tan absoluta era la autoridad que le daba, que reservando el rey en si la autoridad real, era en la judicatura igual." In regard to the fact that both chiefs wore the same characteristic ornaments and dress, see *Durán* (Lámina 8a to Cap. XXIII of Trat. I°), also "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis,*" comparing it with the head-dress of the leading figure of the sculptures on the rim of the cylinder known as the "stone of sacrifice," in the Museo Nacional of Mexico.

[222] "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 59, 60, 61, 62 and 63), treating of the "capitan-general Tlacaelel:" haziendo hazañas dignas de gran memoria por medio de su general Tlacaelel." The war against Chalco was waged by the Mexicans and their confederates, therefore we read (p. 4): "Y asi fué que acudiendo este Rey en persona á la guerra." (P. 67) his office was: "de capitan-general y segundo de su corte. . . *Durán* (Cap. XVII, pp. 147 and 148), war against Chalco, when both chiefs went along. (Cap. XVIII, p. 156), foray against Tepeaca, both chieftains in the field, as both Mexicans and confederates participated. (Cap. XIX), against the Huaxteca. (Cap. XXII, p. 180): "Tlacaelel, principe de la milicia," in the raid against Coayxtlahuacan. In place of Tlacaelel, "era ya viejo y que no podria ya ir á guerra tan apartada," Cuauhnochtli commanded the Mexicans. The most explicit and positive author of all is *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana,*" Cap. XIX, p. 32, Cap. XXI, p. 33): "Zihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin general y oydor."—"y su presidente y capitan-general Zihuacoatl Tlacatleltzin." In regard to the protracted hostilities against the tribe of Chalco, it is stated that the "Cihuacohuatl" alone commanded (Cap. XXII, p. 34); but it follows from p. 35, that after the first bloody though indecisive fight, the allies were called upon for assistance, though Tezozomoc says it was only a delegation to insure their quiet. This explains the contradiction between him and the two preceding authors. In (Cap. XXIV, p. 37), he acknowledges that Montezuma Ilhuicamina went along, together with Cihuacohuatl. The fact, that the conquest of Chalco was made by the Mexicans, with the assistance of allies, is conceded by other authors. See *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XLIV and L). *Orteva* ("Apendice" to Veytia, Cap. III, pp. 340-343). Therefore the Cihuacohuatl commanded the Mexicans. In the foray against Tepeaca and Tecamachalco, the confederate forces sallied out, (Cap. XVII): "cada uno con su capitan y 701

643 latter led the Mexicans in person, or a substitute for either of them might take the command.[223] During the last days of aboriginal Mexico, when warriors from different tribes, together with the head-chiefs of Tezcuco and of Tlacopan, crowded into the invested pueblo, the so-called "King of Mexico" appeared as the *confederate* commander, while the "snake-woman" only wielded the authority and performed the duties of "captain-general" of the *Mexican* contingent.[224]

All these different attributes may be united in the functions of one office, namely: that of head-chief of the tribe. As such, we must consider the "Cihuacohuatl," and as such was he recognized by Cortés when in 1521, he created the last "snake-woman" "governor" of the remnants of the Mexican tribe and of the so-called Indian wards within which they "were" subsequently settled.[225]

We have seen that the "snake-woman" was the colleague, or associate in matters of tribal importance, of another officer, who had originally filled his place, but whose sphere of action had been so much extended through the formation of the confederacy, that a colleague became needed in tribal affairs. This officer, commonly entitled "King of Mexico," sometimes even "Emperor of Anahuac," was the "chief of men," "Tlaca-tecuhtli".[226]

---

[701] capitanes señalados," and both war-chiefs of Mexico were present and in the field (p. 41). Not to increase the volume of quotations beyond measure, I shall simply add that, as the Cihuacohuatl grew older and could not well go to war, other captains took his place. These captains I will refer to hereafter. *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII).

[223] Evidence to that effect is found in *Durán* (Cap. XXII, p. 189), and especially in *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVIII, p. 78): "Cuauhnochtli, capitan general." (Cap. LXXI, LXXII and XCI, pp. 160 and 161, etc., etc.). This explains why the title of chief-commander of the Mexicans is so variously stated. See the very sensible remarks of *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXI. p. 494, etc.). These chiefs were, in this instance, temporarily appointed, since it was not the creation of an office, but simply a delegation of power for a certain special purpose. When the foray was over, the charge ceased to exist, the war-chief returning to his original rank.

[224] *Cortés* ("*Carta Tercera*," Vedia I. p. 80): "E dende a poco volvió con ellos uno de los mas principales de todos aquéllos que se llamaba Ciguacoacin, y era el capitan y gobernador de todos ellos, é por su consejo se seguian todas las cosas de guerra." This fact is generally accepted, and needs no further proof.

[225] *Cortés* ("*Carta Quarta*," Vedia I, p. 110). *Petition to Charles V, by four Indian chiefs of Mexico*, June 18, 1532, in "*Cruautés horribles des Conquérants espagnols*," of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, 1st Series (Appendix, pp. 265, 266 and 269): "Moi, don Hernando de Tapia, je suis fils de Tapia, et ancien Tlacotecle, gouverneur de Mexico, sous le marquis del Valle." *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. VIII, pp. 122 and 123). *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. CLVII, Vedia II, pp. 198 and 199). *Icazbalceta* in *Cervántes-Salazar* ("*Tres Diálogos*," Introd. to 2d Dialogue, pp. 75 and 76).

[114] [226] I have used this title, perhaps for the first time among recent writers, in "*Art of War*," (p. 123). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXIII, p. 145). *Ramirez de Fuenleal* ("*Letter*,

In the year 1375, according to the Mendoza Codex, the first 643 incumbent of this office was elected by popular vote.[227] From that time on, the office remained strictly elective and non-hereditary, in so far as, like the chief officers of the calpulli, the descendants of the former incumbent were preferred to succeed him; provided they were undoubtedly competent.[228] But no rule of succession

---

etc." in 1st *Recueil* of Ternaux-Compans, p. 267). *Codex Mendoza* (Plate XVIII): [114] "Tlacatectli gobernador" also the "Declaracion de la figurado." *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. XX, pp. 126 and 128). This very remarkable chapter deserves to be closely studied, since it embodies the principles upon which the aborigines of Mexico filled their offices, and the bases of their mode of government. It would be too long to attempt a full analysis of it, and anything short of a careful study would fail to give an adequate conception of its importance. I merely refer to the statements of the celebrated Franciscan in regard to the title under consideration: "porque ya está en la dignidad y estrado, y tiene ya el principal lugar donde le puso nuestro señor? ya le llaman por estos nombres tecutlato, tlacatecutli, por estos nombres le nombran todos los populares . . . ." This passage and the succeeding one: "y alguno de estos tomado de la república por rey y señor," clearly indicate that the title is that of the so-called "King" or "chief of men;" (p. 128); however, he mentions the "tlacatecutli" as one of "dos senadores para lo que toca al regimiento del pueblo." There is an evident contradiction here, which is very similar to the one already noticed in regard to the two sections of the council, in a former note.

[227] *Codex Mendoza* (Plate II). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). In regard to this Chronology, compare the late and highly valuable work of *Don M. Orozco y Berra*, ("*Ojeada sobre la Cronologia Mexicana*" in the "*Biblioteca Mexicana*,"—an Introduction to a reprint of Tezozomoc). The learned author has brought to light many highly valuable facts. That "Acamapichtli" or "Handful of Reeds" was *elected*, is abundantly proven by many authorities, so that detailed quotations are useless.

[228] The fullest report is contained in *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318): "Cuando moria el señor ó rey para elegir otro, juntábanse los senadores que llamaban tecutlatoque, y tambien los viejos del pueblo que llamaban achcacauhti, y tambien los capitanes soldados viejos de la guerra que llamaban Iauequioaques (should be Iau-Tequioaques), y otros capitanes que eran principales en las cosas de la guerra, y tambien los Sátrapas que llamaban Tlenamacazques ó papasaque: todos estos se juntaban en las casas reales, y allí deliberaban y determinaban quien habia de ser señor, y escogian uno de los mas nobles de la liné de los señores antepasados, que fuese hombre valiente y ejercitado en las cosas de guerra, osado, animoso, y que no supiese beber vino: que fuese prudente y sábio, y que fuese criado en el Calmecac: que supiese bien hablar, y fuese entendido, recatado y animoso, y cuando todos ó los mas concurrian en uno, luego le nombraban por señor. No se hacia esta eleccion por escrutinio ó por votos, sino todos juntos confiriendo los unos con los otros, venian à concertarse en uno." To this should be added the testimony of the same author (Lib. VI, cap. XX, pp. 126–129). *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103): "y es de saber que no ponian hijo del que elexian por rey, ó del que moria, porque como ya tengo dicho, nunca heredaron los hijos, por via de herencia, los ditados ni los señorios, sino por election; y asi, agora fuese hijo, agora fuese hermano, agora primo, como fuese electo por el rey y por los de su consejo para aquel ditado, le era dado, bastava ser de aquella linagia y pariente cercano; y asi iban siempre los hijos y los hermanos heredándolo, poco á poco, si no esta vez, la otra, ó si no la otra, y asi nunca salia de aquella generacion aquel ditado y señorio, eligiéndoles poco á poco." (Cap. LXIV, p. 498): "porque en aquel tiempo heredábanse los hermanos hijos del rey unos á otros, aunque de lo que desta hystoria e notado, ni avia herencia ni sucesion, sino solos aquellos que los electores escogian, como fuese hijo ó hermano del que moria, ó sobrino ó primo, en segundo grado, y este *órden* me parece que llevan en todas sus elecciones, y asi creo que muchos de los que claman y piden venilles por herencia los señorios, porque en su infidelidad sus padres fueron reyes y señores,

643 limited the choice to a family, perhaps not even to a kin.[229] Like every other office it had to be *deserved*,[230] and could not be obtained by birth or through craft;[231] neither could it be transmitted through inheritance.[232].

643
174 The history of this office may be divided into two periods: the first, closing with the formation of the confederacy in the first quarter of the fifteenth century; the second, beginning at that time, and lasting until the final abrogation of the office by the Spaniards, in 1521.[233] During the former period the "chief of men" was, as we have already said, but the executive chieftain

---

entiendo no piden justicia, porque en su ley antigua mas eran elecciones, en todo género de señores, que no herencias ni sucesiones." The author of the above was a native Mexican, and knew the customs of his people. "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 56): "porque como queda referido, nunca heredaron los hijos de los Reyes en los señorios, sino por eleccion daban el Reyno á uno destos quatro principes, á los quales tampoco heredaban sus hijos en estos ditados y cargos; sino que muerto uno escogian otro en su lugar al que les parescia, y con este modo siempre tuvo este Reyno muy suficientes hombres en sus Repúblicas, porque elegian los mas valerosos." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXII, pp. 143 and 142), confirming the mode of election as reported by Sahagun. *Zurita* ("*Rapport, etc.*," p. 14): "Ainsi, ils préféraient laisser apres eux un successeur qui fut capable de bien gouverner, plutôt que d'abandonner cette charge à leurs fils, à leurs petits-fils ou à leurs lieutenants, comme le fit Alexandre le Grand." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, pp. 153 and 154). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 256): "Confiesso de la Republica Mexicana esta manera de sucesion, y que se elegian algunas veces, sin diferencias, notando solamente las qualidades de las personas, y de estos fue Itzcohuatl, valeroso Rei Mexicano, que por el valor de su persona, y la grandeça de su animo, no se advirtió, ni reparó para eligirle, en que era Hijo de una Esclava; pero no es maravilla, que el bien publico, prefiera al particular." I forbear quoting the tales about the election of sundry Mexican chiefs, as related by the above and other authors.

[229] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VI, p. 463), has distinctly formulated the idea: "that the crown should always remain in the house of Acamapitzin." Enough has been said about the Mexican *family* to dispel the notions of an "Indian dynasty" in Mexico. At best, a succession or perpetuation of the *office* in a certain *Kin or calpulli*, might be conceded. *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 106), *Codice Ramirez*, (p. 56), and *Zurita* (p. 14), make even this somewhat doubtful; so does the election of Itzcohuatl, *as conceived* by *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 256). The origin of "Flinty Snake" is, however, reported in too many different ways to justify any conclusion based on it. The fact, that one of the four leading war-captains should become "chief of men," militates against descent of office in a certain kin. See also *Joseph de Acosta* ("*Hist. nat. y moral de las Indias*," Lib. VI, cap. 24, pp. 439 and 440).

[230] *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. XX; Lib. VIII, cap. XXX). *Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. 24).

[231] *Las Casas* ("*Hist. apologética*" quoted on p. 134 of Vol. VIII of Lord Kingsborough's collection): "Quando algun señor moria y dexava muchos hijos, si alguno se alzava en palacio y se queria preferir á los otros, aunque fuese el mayor, no lo consentia el Señor á quien pertenecia la confirmacion, y menos el pueblo. Antes dexavan pasar un año, ó mas de otro, en el qual consideravan bien qual era mejor para regir ó gobernar el estado, y aquel permaneció por señor." *Zurita* ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 18 and 19). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, pp. 258 and 259). Further quotations would be useless.

[232] In addition to the authorities named in note 228, I refer to *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VI, p. 463); with the restriction mentioned in note 229. "*De l'ordre de Succession, etc.*" (1st *Recueil of Ternaux-Compans*, p. 226).

[233] *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," p. 69). *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. I, p. 272). The death of Cuauhtemotzin put an end to the office in the eyes of the Spaniards, although it had

of the tribe, and the duties of his office, at that time embracing 643 those of the "Cihuacohuatl," have been stated by us already. 174 The confederation had so far wrought a change that he became "general" of its allied warriors,[234] and consequently to a certain extent, an extra-tribal officer residing at Tenuchtitlan, Mexico, because the military supremacy was vested in that tribe. We have previously alluded to the fact that it was the "chief of men" upon whom we have been heretofore accustomed to look as a monarch, even a despot. His office and its attributes have been the mainstays of the notion that a high degree of civilization prevailed in aboriginal Mexico, in so far as its people were ruled after the manner of eastern despotisms.

Not only was this pretended monarch strictly elective, but he 643 could also be deposed for misdemeanor.[235] "Wrathy chief" the younger, better known as the last Montezuma, was removed from office and his successor elected before that ill-starred chieftain's violent death.[236]

---

been formally abrogated by the capture of that chieftain, to whom no successor was appointed by the whites.

[234] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 417). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXII, p. 219), claims for his Tezcucan chief the military command, in the shape of an "imperial" title: "He of Tezcuco was greeted by the title of Aculhua Tecuhtli, as also by that of Chichimecatl-Tecuhtli which his ancestors carried, and which was the distinctive mark of the empire." I believe this claim was disposed of in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 394, notes 9 and 10). See also *Vetancurt* (Part IIa, Trat. I, cap. XIV, p. 291): "y remataron la fiesta quedando Izcohuatl por rey supremo del imperio tepaneca, por ser primero que Netzahualcoyotl." See also the tacit acknowledgments by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist: des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, LXXIV, LXXV).

[235] *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte II, Trat. II, cap. XV, p. 486): "Otras muchas leyes extravagantes que con el instinto natural, con maduro consejo confirmaron y que inviolablemente guardaban, tenian los Mexicanos y los de Guatimala, como el de deponer al rey con junta y consejo de la nobleza."

[236] That "wrathy chief" had lost all his authority during the time Cortés went against Narvaez, is clearly stated in "*Carta Segunda*" (Vedia I, pp. 41 and 42) already, though the fact of his removal from office is not noticed by the Spanish commander himself. It is, however, mentioned by *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. CXXVI, p. 138). Montezuma said to Olid and to the "Padre de la Merced:" "Yo tengo creido que no aprovecharé cosa ninguna para que cese la guerra, porque ya tienen alzado otro señor . . . ;" and again the Mexicans themselves are reported as answering to Montezuma: "Hacémoosos saber que ya hemos levantado á un vuestro primo por señor." *Las Casas* ("*Brevissima Relacion*," p. 60). Alvarado: "Ponen un puñal a los pechos al preso Motençuma que se pusiesse à los corredores, y mandasse, que los Yndios no combatiessen la casa, si no que se pusiessen en paz. Ellos no curaron entonces de obedecelle en nada; antes platicauan de elegir otro Señor, y capitan, que guiasse sus batallas." *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XXI, pp. 28 and 29): "Oidas estas voces por los Mexicanos y Tlatilulcas, commençaron entre si á bravear, y maldecir á Mocthecuma diciendo que dice el puto de Mocthecuma y tú bellaco con él? no cesaremos de la guerra; luego comenzaron á dar alaridos y á tirar saetas y dardos ácia donde estaba el que hablaba junto con Mocthecuzuma." This was before Cortés had even captured Narvaez, and shows that at that time the "chief of men" had already lost all authority. *Codice Ramirez* (p. 89). When the other chief who was with Montezuma had spoken:

643 644 Among the duties of the "chief of men," we notice first that of residence at the "tecpan" or official house.[237] This is commonly stated to be a royal privilege, whereas it was, in fact, a burthen, as it simply meant that he occupied the position of head of the official household of the tribe.[238] The formation of this household we have elsewhere described.[239] It was a communal group, consisting of the head-war-chief and his family, together with such assistants (and their families, if any), as were required for the transaction of daily business.[240] The "tecpan" is appropriately called: "house of the community," "casa de comunidad," by Fray Juan de Torquemada,[241] and its residents were placed and kept there for the purpose of extending tribal hospitality, and for the furtherance of tribal business and extra-tribal relations. This "official family" had to wait upon the officers and chiefs who

---

"un animoso capitan llamado Quauhtemoc de edad de diez y ocho años que ya le querian elegir por Rey dijo en alta voz:" "Qué es lo que dize este bellaco de Motecuczuma, muger de los españoles, que tal se puede llamar, pues con ánimo mugeril se entregó à ellos de puro miedo y asegurándonos nos ha puesto todos en éste trabajo? No le queremos obedecer porque ya no es nuestro Rey, y como à vil hombre le hemos de dar el castigo y pago." *Fragmento No. 2* (*Noticias Relativas á la Conquista*," etc., p. 143): "y ellos le deshonraron y llamaron el Cobarde." *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. LXVIII, p. 494): "soltó á un Hermano de Motecuhçuma, Señor de Iztapalapan, y los Mexicanos, ni hicieron el Mercado, ni le dexaron bolver á la Prision, y le eligieron por su Caudillo" (Id. Cap. LXX, p. 497). *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro*," Parte IIIa. Trat. I, cap. XIV, p. 125, cap. XV, pp. 130, 131). *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. X, cap. VIII, p. 264). It is very interesting to notice that Torquemada and Herrera use identically the same words. Their versions are the fullest.

[237] *Tenure of Lands* (pp. 409 and 410). *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 214): "Y asi, lo primero que se ordenó, fué que los reyes nunca saliesen en público, etc., etc." It is scarcely necessary to prove this at any length, by quotations.

[238] *Tenure of Lands* (p. 409). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 128): "Estos Tributos eran para el bien publico, para las Guerras, para pagar á los Governadores, i Ministros de Justicia, i Capitanes, porque toda esta Gente comia, de ordinario, en el Palacio del Rey, adonde cada uno tenia su asiento, i lugar conocido, segun su oficio, i Calidad, . . ." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 291): "Y despues que habia comido el señor, mandaba á sus pages, ó servidores, que diesen de comer á todos los señores y embajadores que habian venido de algunos pueblos, y tambien daban de comer á los que guardaban el palacio. Tambien daban de comer á los que criaban los mancebos que se llaman telpuchtlatos y á los Sátrapas de los idolos. Asimismo daban de comer á los cantores, á los pages, á todos los del palacio, etc., etc. . . ." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXII, p. 144). The latter is very positive, mentioning it as a duty.

[239] *Tenure of Lands* (pp. 409 and 410).

[240] The information on this point goes back to *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 32): "La manera de su servicio era que todos los dias luego en amaneciendo eran en su casa de seiscientos señores y personas personales, los cuales se sentaban, y otros andaban por unas salas y corredores que habian en la dicha casa, etc., etc." The other eye-witnesses are hardly as positive. The exaggerated reports of *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, p. 505), *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXV, p. 296), *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro*," Parte IIa. Trat. I°. cap. XXIII, pp. 256, 257, etc.), *Herrera* (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. IX, pp. 165, 184) and others, simply prove that the "tecpan" was permanently occupied by a numerous household, of which the "chief of men" was the head.

[241] "*Monarquia Indiana*" (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 46).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

This "official family" had to wait upon the officers and chiefs who 643
daily transacted affairs at the "tecpan," to carry their victuals 644
to the halls in which their sessions were held and also to wait upon [674]
the foreign official guests (often enemies) who were received in separate, even secluded, quarters.[249] But their main duty con-

---

[249] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 301, as copied in note 228). *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 99): "Il y avait dans les palais des souverains des appartements vastes, élevés de sept à huit marches comme nos entre-sol, et destinés à la résidence des juges." (P. 100): "De bonne heure on apportait au palais même les repas des magistrats." This would imply that the *food* was brought to the "tecpan" from the places where the members of the council ("tecutlatoca") actually resided. This is positively contradicted by *Tezozomoc* ("'*Crónica*.,' Cap. LXXXII, p. 144), who makes it one of the duties of the "chief of men." "con los viejos y viejas mucho amor, dándoles para el sustento humano: regalados los principales, teniéndolos en mucho, y dándoles la honra que merecen: llamarles cada dia al palacio que comán con vos, ganándoles las voluntades, que con ellos está el sostener el imperio, buenos consegeros, buenos amigos, que por ellos os es dado el asiento, silla, estrados, honra, señorio, mando y ser." Such an extensive meal of the tribal officers is also intimated by the same author as having been customary with the Xochimilcas,—a tribe well known as being closely allied to the Mexicans,—where he says (Cap. XVI, pp. 25 and 26): "Las Indias mugeres de las Xochimilcas, lavando muy bien el itacahuitl, tecuitlatl, y otras cosas salidas de la laguna, y lavado, y limpiamente lleuándolo al palacio de Tecpan para que le comiesen los principales, y comenzandolo á comer estava muy sabrosa, y prosiguiendo en su comida, etc., etc. . . ." *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 49), speaking of certain chiefs, says: "Outre ces avantages, le souverain suprême payait une solde à ces chefs, et leur faisait délivrer des rations. Ceux ci se tenaient continuellement dans son palais pour former sa cour." It is to these "chiefs," which were none other than the members of the council, that *Gomara* (Vedia I. p. 342) refers, copying *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I. p. 35), who adds, however: "E al tiempo que traian de comer al dicho Muteczuma, asimismo lo traian á todos aquellos señores tan cumplidamente cuanto á su persona, y tambien á los servidores y gentes destos les daban sus raciones. Habia cotidianamente la dispensa y botilleria abierta para todos aquellos que quisiesen comer y beber." The chaplain has added to Cortés' relation some items tending to increase or enhance the importance of the meals, whereas he has suppressed the above, very important, passage. Compare Vedia: (Tom I. p. 345). His statements agree far better with those of *Bernal Diez* ("*Hist. verd.*" Vedia II, cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87). The fact of the "official household" being entrusted with the dispensation of tribal hospitality is therefore certain. The members of the council ate there also, as proven by *Zurita* (p. 99), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIII, p. 301), *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 134): "traihanles algo temprano la comida de palacio," and it is implied by *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 352): "Estos Jueces oian de ordinario, en especial de causas criminales, todos los Dias á mañana, y tarde, ... asistian en sus Salas, que las havia en la casa del Rei, particulares, ..." He is even very positive (Lib. III, cap. XXV, p. 296): "No solo tenia este Grande, y Magnifico Emperador casas muy cumplidas, y Salas, y Aposentos grandiosas, para su Morada, para sus Consejos, y Señores, y toda la demas Gente, que llegaba á ser digna de su hospedage, y recibimiento, donde como su misma Persona Real eran servidos, y acariciados . . ," also (Lib. IV, cap. L, p. 480). He also says of "Fasting Wolf," head-chief of Tezcuco (Lib. II, cap. LIII, p. 167): "no fué menos en el gasto de su Casa, asi para su Persona, como para hacer Hospicio ordinario á todos los que servian en su Palacio, y otros muchos Señores, que comian en su Casa, cada Dia, . . ." *Petrus Martyr of Anghiera* ("*De novo Orbe*," etc., Dec. III, cap. X, pp. 231 and 232). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 488), about Tezcuco. In regard to Mexico he is very positive (Lib. V, cap. III, p. 304). Further quotations are useless. I shall merely refer to the "*Codex Mendoza*" (plate LXX) and, for the sake of analogy with the tribes of QQuiché-stock in Guatemala, to the "*Popol Vuh*" (p. 268): "Are qui cuchbal quib ri-oxib chi nim-ha u bi cacamal, chiri cut chi c'uqah-vi c'uquiya, ..."

643 sisted in preparing and serving every day an extensive meal, of
644 which not only all the members of the household, several hundreds in number, partook, but every one who, either on business or as an idler, happened to be on or about the premises.[943] It was the duty of the "chief of men" himself to open this rude clannish feast,[944] and it pertained to his office to represent the hospitality and dignity of the tribe on such occasions. Hence the peculiar

---

574 That the delegates from foreign tribes were quartered at the "tecpan" is plainly stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XIX, p. 308): "Habia otra sala que se llamaba Coacalli: en este lugar se aposentaban todos los señores forasteros, que eran amigos é enemigos del señor. . . . . . ."; "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 73): "Vinieron á estas fiestas hasta los propios enemigos de los Mexicanos, como eran los de Michhuacan y los de la provincia de Tlaxcala, á los quales hizo aposentar el Rey y tratar como á su misma persona, y hazerles tan ricos miradores desde donde viessen las fiestas, como los suyos;" *Durán* (Cap. XL, p. 317, cap. XLIII. p. 347): "Fasting child" of Tezcuco "aposentándole en un lugar que ellos llaman Teccalli, que quiere decir, palacio Real." "Luego llegó el rey de Tacuba con todos sus principales y señores . . . . á quien no menos honra y cortesía se hizo que al de Tezcuco, poniéndole en el mismo palacio, junto á Neçaualpilli." The delegates from Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco and Cholula were: "Llevados al palacio real, donde les tenian aparejado un retraimiento oculto y escondido," and "fueron aposentados en el mismo lugar" those of Michhuacan and others (pp. 350 and 351), also (Cap. LIV, pp. 428 and 429, and LVIII, p. 450, etc.). These authors are also fully confirmed by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. LXIV. pp. 106 and 107; cap. LXVIII, p. 111; cap. LXXXVI, p. 151), *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, p. 254, speaking of Tezcuco). *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, pp. 534 and 535). The latter distinguishes between the "calpixca" and "el palacio," stating that delegates were quartered at the former. But since he himself (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 48) calls the "tecpan" casa del comun"—a name given by him to the "calpixca"—and we know from *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII. cap. XIX, p. 307) that the "calpixcacalli" was a hall of the "tecpan," there can be no doubt as to the fact, that the "tecpan" was also the place where delegates were received, lodged and *fed*, at the expense of the tribe.

When, in 1537, the Bishop Las Casas sent certain traders with full instructions and "implements for conversion," to the Indians of "Tuzulutlan" or of the "Tierra de Guerra" *Fray Antonio de Remesal* ("*Historia de la Provincia de S. Vicente de Chyapa*," etc., etc., Lib. III. cap. XV. p. 135): Y cómo en aquel tiempo no auia mesones ni casas de comunidad, todos los forasteros que llegauan al lugar acudian á pasar en casa del señor, que los recebia humanamente, hospedaua y daua de comer conforme la calidad de la persona, y el forastero reconocia el bien recibido, ó que auia de recibir, poniendo á los pies del señor algun presente conforme á su posibilidad." The traders, therefore, "took lodgings" at the official house,—the tecpan,—and staid there (as we may read p. 135 of the Friar's history) until they had performed their work of opening the country to the preaching of the gospel. The comparison with Cortés, being also quartered at the "tecpan" of Mexico, is indeed striking.

[943] Descriptions of this meal are so abundant, that it is hardly worth while to refer to them in detail. I would only call particular attention to the statements of *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 25), *Bernal diez de Castillo* ("*Hist. verdadera*," etc., etc., Cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87, of Vedia II). *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion sobre la Conquista de México*," Col. de Doc's II, p. 581). These statements, made by eye-witnesses, if viewed in their proper light and compared with those of subsequent writers, fully corroborate the views of *L. H. Morgan* ("*Montezuma's Dinner*" in *N. American Review*, 1876), that this meal was but an official communal one, given by the official household of the tribe, as part of its daily duties and obligations.

[944] I cannot refrain here from recalling the description of the meal given to the Clan McIvor by its chief "Fergus McIvor, Vich Ian Vohr,"—so graphically pictured by Sir

643 644

earnestness of his manner which eye-witnesses have mistaken for the haughtiness of a tyrant.[245]

These duties not only necessitated official residence at the "official house," but even permanent stay there, unless important business required the chief's absence.[246] Such absence, however, could only be justified by official duties, and then the "chief of men" had to appear with all the tokens and emblems of his rank.[247] If otherwise, he might indeed, go about, but he lost all claim to official recognition.[248] Hence the statements are true in the main, however exaggerated in detail, that great decorum was observed towards the "chief of men" whenever he appeared in public, that he was addressed with marked deference, and that a certain pomp surrounded him on such occasions.[249] These occasions were, of course, opportunities for the display of Indian

---

Walter Scott in "W[illegible]ey." As to the part played by the "chief of men" see particularly *Bernal Diez* [illegible]p. XCI, p. [illegible], Vedia II).

[245] This particularly earnest mien is noticed by all authors. It is strictly Indian, and found among the rudest tribes.

[246] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 214): "Y así, lo primero que se ordenó, fué que los reyes nunca saliesen en público, sino á cosas muy necesarias y forçosas." *Codice Ramirez* (p. 76): "De ordinario estaba retirado saliendo muy pocas veses á vista del pueblo."

[247] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 214), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. X, p. 291). It is distinctly asserted by the former that, what he has called "corona real" could only be worn by the "chief of men" and the "snake-woman." This head-dress, very appropriately termed by the Spaniards, "half mitre" ("media mitra") is figured by many authors of native origin. See *Codex Mendoza* (plates II to XIV, also LXX), *Durán* (Láminas 2 to 14, also 16. 18. to 24 etc.), *Codice Ramirez* (plates 4 and 5). It is called "Xiuhuitzolli" by the Mexicans. See also *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 30 and IIa, p. 160) from "Xiuitl" turquoise or green stone, and is totally different from the head-dress worn by the "chief of men" in the field. Compare "*Art of War*" (p. 126). [213]

[248] This explains the stories about the "incognito" ramblings of "Fasting Wolf" of Tezcuco, so frequently repeated after the Ixtlilxochitls, as well as that of the arrest of "Wrathy Chief" (the last Montezuma) for appropriating corn out of a field. The latter tale is beautifully told by *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 451, 452) after the best authorities.

[249] No author has been more prolific in pictures of pomp, regal wealth and magnificence, than *Bernal Diez de Castillo* ("*Historia verdadera*," etc., etc., Cap. LXXXVIII, XCI and XCII, etc.). Most of the later writers have placed undue reliance on his statements, assuming that the truthfulness with which he "gave vent" to his own individual feelings and impressions, was the result of cool, impassionate observation. Anyone who has read attentively (and not merely glanced over at random for the purpose of obtaining quotations) his protracted "Mémoires," will become convinced that he is, in fact, one of the most unreliable eye-witnesses, as far as general principles are concerned. In every detail where his personal feelings are not involved or by which, even at the late date when he wrote, they were not involuntarily aroused, he is much more trustworthy than when he takes special pride or pains to be very explicit. Thus, it is curious to compare his description of "Wrathy Chief's" reception of Cortés with that given subsequently by the "Marquis del Valle" himself, ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 25). It was doubtlessly the greatest effort at pomp and display ever attempted by the Mexicans, since they went to meet and greet the most incom- [114]

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 finery, when a number of articles were used to deck the "chief
644 of men" as his official insignia, but the custom of speaking to

114 preternatural beings ever heard of by them. It is interesting to place both versions side by side. The translation is my own and I therefore beg for indulgence.

Cortés. Second Dispatch.

"At that place more than a thousand principal people came to greet and to speak to me, all citizens of the said city, and all dressed alike and according to [576] their custom very richly, and when they came to speak to me, every one of them made, before coming up, a particular ceremony, customary among them, which consisted in each one of them putting his hand on the ground, kissing it; and in this manner I waited almost an hour until each one had made his ceremony." "....... After we had passed that bridge, this lord Mutezuma came to receive us with about two hundred Lords, all barefooted and dressed in other livery or manner of clothing, also very rich after their custom, and more so than that of the others. They came in two processions, closely hugging the walls of the street which is very broad, fine, and straight, so that from one end of it the other end may be seen, and two-thirds of a league ("legua") in length, with very good buildings on both sides, dwellings as well as temples. And the said Mutezuma went in the middle of the street with two chiefs, one to his right and the other to his left. One of these was the same one who, as I said, had come to speak to me in the litter, and the other was the said Mutezuma's brother, lord of that city of Iztapalapa which I had left that day. All three were dressed alike, except Mutezuma who wore soles to his feet, whereas the other two chiefs had none and supported him by his arms........."

Bernal Diaz de Castillo. Cap. 88.

"When we reached the place where another pathway (dyke) branched off to Coyoacan, ... many principals and caciques came, covered with very rich mantles, with ornaments and liveries, those of one cacique different from those of another, and the dykes were filled by them. These great caciques were sent by the great Montezuma ahead to receive us, and as they arrived before Cortés they bid us welcome, touching the ground and kissing it in token thereof." "Thus we were detained a good while, and from there the Cacamatzin, chief of Tezcuco, and the chief of Iztapalapa, and the chief of Tacuba and the chief of Coyoacan went forward to meet the great Montezuma who approached in a rich litter, accompanied by other great Lords and caciques holding vassals. And when we neared Mexico, where there were other small towers, the great Montezuma descended from his litter, and these great caciques took hold of his arms, advancing with him under a marvellously rich canopy of green plumes with large golden ornaments, much silver, and pearls and stones of "Chalchihuits" suspended from it as fringes, and very dazzling to the eye. The great Montezuma was very richly dressed after their custom, with cotaras on his feet (as they are called), with golden soles and much jewelry over them. The four lords who came with him were also richly dressed, though not in the same manner as when they had come out to receive us,—as if they changed dress on purpose under way. Besides these Lords, there came other great caciques who bore the canopy over their heads, and other many Lords preceded the great Montezuma sweeping the ground before him and placing ropes for him to step upon. None of these Lords ventured to look him in the face, but all had their eyes cast down, except those of his relatives and nephews who supported him by the arms.

him with downcast eyes was not so much a mark of particular 643
respect, as a thoroughly Indian habit of shy suspicion, common 644

A third eye-witness, *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion*," etc., Col. de Doc's, II, p. 579), 114
simply says: "The said Motecuzuma went in the middle of the street, and all the rest of the people were along the walls, close to them, as such is their custom."

The version of Bernal Diez is corroborated by *Oviedo* ("*Hist. general*," etc., Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLV, p. 500); from information derived by him of "some knights and soldiers who had taken part in the conquest of New Spain" (Title of Chapter XLV, p. 494). But the old chronicler does not give the names of his informants.

The same question recurs here, which we have already discussed in regard to the fights with the Tlaxcalteca ("*Art of War*," p. 153, note 293), and here again we reach the same conclusion namely: that Bernal Diez de Castillo, "bent upon recollecting personal incidents, and, from his subaltern position" less able to see closely, in this instance, magnifies the importance of the action beyond the limits of truth.

It is easily noticed, how much more sober, and therefore less pompous, are the statements of the Spanish commander and of his lieutenant, than those of the common soldiers, including Oviedo's anonymous informants. And it should be remembered that Cortés, who was the chief actor in the scene, certainly saw *more of it* and saw it far better than any of the others. Furthermore, at the time he wrote his report (the 30 of October, 1520, or only about one year after the date of the occurrence), Cortés had personal and political motives to magnify and embellish the picture. *If* his statements, therefore, fall far below those of his troopers in thrilling and highly colored details, there is every reason to believe that they are the more reliable and trustworthy.

Referring, therefore, to the description by Cortés, we find, on the whole, nothing but a barbarous display common to other Indian celebrations of a similar character. Of the Mexicans themselves, a number of such receptions are related by aboriginal authors. *I particularly refer to Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," *etc.*, Cap. XXVII, pp. 41 and 42). 727
Upon the return of the Mexicans from their successful raid on Tecamachálco and 114
Tepeaca: "the Mexicans were received in triumph, with horns, trumpets (?), flowers, and frankincense. The old men of the tribe, carrying censers and roses, stood in two rows on each side of the way, their hair tied on the back of their heads with strips of red leather, called cuauhtlalpiloni, with shields in their hands, rods—cuauhtopilli,—and rattles, in token of old age and of being fathers to such braves. Between them the Mexican troop had to pass,—and these are called cuacuacuiltzin,—taking in the middle the captains, and the prisoners which they had brought from the four pueblos;" also (Cap. XXIX), though it is less explicit, about the return from the foray against the Huaxtecas; (Cap. XXXVIII p. 60), speaking of the return from the foray against Huaxaca: "Then Moctezuma commanded to all the old men and to the principal Mexicans to go out and receive the returning warriors with much mirth and joy. They met them in the road, and greeted them, incensing them with much copal, which is like unto myrrh, and a mark of great honor, token of triumph in war;" (Cap. XLIX, p. 70): "At Mazatzintamalco (which has since become garden of the Marquis del Valle), the old men, Cuauhuehueques, and the Mexican council were arrayed in line to receive him, each one with his calabash-rattle, and armed with shields and macanas, wearing ichcahuipiles, and with the hair tied up on the back of the head with straps of red leather. Along the road there were, at intervals, bowers and huts decked with roses, and the old men joined the procession which moved into Mexico-Tenuchtitlan, directly up to the temple of Huitzilopochtli." This was when "*Face in the Water*" returned from the raid against the *Matlatzincas*;—(Cap. LII, p. 85) when the same "chief of men" returned, beaten and defeated by the Tarasca of Michhuacan, the same reception was made to him, only with groans, and wails of grief and mourning; also (Cap. LVIII, p. 96, Cap. LXII, p. 104, etc., etc.). *It follows from* the above that the reception of Cortés and whatever barbarous display attended it, was strictly according to established custom. *Similar receptions* were made to trading companies returning with particular success. *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 380). "They went in pro- 114
cession like two files, one of priests and the other of chiefs, and they met them in 576

643 even now to much ruder tribes;[250] and the ornaments and peculiar 644 garments, like the head-dress so very appropriately designated by the Spaniards as a "half-mitre," and other articles already described by us on a former occasion were not worn by him alone, as the "Cihuacohuatl" enjoyed the same privilege.[251] This, and the burial-rites to which we cannot, here, refer in detail,[252]

---

114 the pueblo of Acachinanco," to the south of Mexico, in the direction of San Antonio 576 Abad, says *Bustamante* (note a). This was while "Water-Rat" was "chief of men." That the "chief of men" moved alone, or with a small escort only, in the middle of the street, is very natural. He was the head of the official household and the chief war-captain of the confederacy. His particular duty it was, therefore, to greet the strangers. On any ordinary occasion it would have been misplaced, and against all rules of Indian etiquette, for the chief-officers of a tribe to go out to meet them; but in this case, wavering between fear and curiosity, an exception was made. It is worthy of remark that even when the "chief of men" returned at the head of a victorious war-party, the "snake-woman" is not mentioned as sallying forth to greet him in person.

576 171 [250] This custom of addressing people to whom some deference is due, has been noticed among numerous tribes of America. Among the Mexicans it was not at all an exclusive mark of deference towards the chief-officer. His interlocutors did not look at him, neither did he look at *them*. See *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XCI, p. 86, Vedia II), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 470). The latter is particularly important, although he but copies *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 386) in the main. As far as other tribes are concerned, I but recall here the Peruvian "Inca." See *Francisco de Jerez* ("*Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Perú y Provincia del Cuzco llamada la Nueva Castilla,*" etc., etc., in Vedia, Vol. II, p. 331), when Hernando Pizarro met Atahuallpa for the first time: "los ojos puestos en tierra, sin los alzar á mirar á ninguna parte." Of the Indians of the gulf states of North America, it is said by *James Adair* ("*History of the American Indians,*" p. 4): "They are timorous, and consequently cautious, ... exceedingly modest in their behaviour." See also on the Northern Indians, *Loskiel* ("*Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder,*" Barby 1789, pp. 17 and 18). It would be superfluous to add further quotations.

[251] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 215, cap. XLIV, p. 357). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57, cap. LXIX, p. 115, etc.). *Durán* (Lámina 6, Trat. 1°).

764 [252] That the burial of the "Cihuacohuatl" took place after the same manner as that of the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," is proven by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 67): "Hiziéronse obsequias solemnísimas y un enterramiento mas sumptuoso que el de los Reyes pasados, porque todos lo tenian por el amparo, y muro fuerte del gran imperio Mexicano." *Durán* (Cap. XLVIII, pp. 381 and 382): "el qual despues de muerto, su cuerpo fué quemado y sus cenizas enterradas junto á los sepulcros de los Reyes, haciéndole las exequias conforme á persona tal se devian, de la mesma manera que á los reyes se hacian y sus grandezas pedian." *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII, p. 496): "le hicieron exequias los Mexicanos, con mas aparato y demostracion que á ninguno de los Reyes avian hecho."

In connection with the burial rites it may be in place, here, to refer to a custom easily interpreted in favor of the assumption, that the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" was a monarch. It is the carving, in the live rock at Chapultepec near Mexico, of human shapes commemorative (or at least said to be) of each of these officers, towards the close of each one's lifetime. There can be no doubt as to the existence of such carvings. The last of them, representing "Wrathy chief," was seen by *Don Antonio de Leon y Gama* ("*Descripcion Histórica y Cronológica de las dos Piedras que con ocasion del Nuevo Empedrado que se está formando en la Plaza principal de Mexico, se hallaron en ella el Año de 1790,*" Segunda Edicion; 1832, Parte Segunda, pp. 80 and 81), as late as 1753 or 1754, when it was destroyed ("picada") by order of the authorities. Another figure, intended for

again establishes the equality in rank of both officers, and it also 643
dispels the notions of royal etiquette and magnificence with which, 644
more particularly, the figure of "Wrathy chief" (Montezuma) has been surrounded in history.

The "chief of men" as head of the official household needed 644
many assistants and subordinates. He required stewards for the care of the stores and their daily apportionment.[253] Especially [202]
did he need runners for the delivery of his messages. Such officers could be chosen by him and thus far, but no farther, did he enjoy the right of appointing subordinates.[254] But the appointment to a certain duty by the "chief of men," did not confer any hereditary rank or office. On the contrary, it is even probable that most of these posts were filled by outcasts, since this was, properly, the group from which the inferior servants for the transaction of tribal business could be selected without disturbing the balance of power between the kins.

The "Tecpan" being, as we have already stated, the "house of 643
the community," that is the place where the business of the entire 644
social cluster (as far as the tribe could represent it) was trans- 344
acted, and, furthermore, it being proven that the same "tecpan"

"Face in the Water," existed a few years previous to that date. According to *Señor Don* 764
J. F. Ramirez ("*Durán*," p. 251, note 1 to Cap. XXXI), disfigured remnants, among which the sign "1 cane" (ce-acatl) is plainly visible, can yet be noticed in the rock at Chapultepec on the eastern side of that celebrated hill or isolated bluff.

Now it is equally certain, that such carvings were not only commemorative of the "Tlaca-Tecuhtli," but *also* of the "Cihuacohuatl." See *Durán* (Cap. XXXI, pp. 250, 251). A somewhat different version, is given by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. XL, p. 65). It is remarkable, however, that comparatively little importance was attached to those funeral monuments. The place of Chapultepec itself, a very striking and conspicuous object and one with which many reminiscences were connected, was viewed as an object of "medicine." *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXVI, p. 303). That particular attention should be paid to the remains of an officer of high rank is very natural. It is found among the Iroquois, *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. III, pp. 95 and 96, also, "*American aboriginal Architecture*" in *Johnson's Cyclopædia*). It would be useless to dwell further on the subject since it will be fully treated of in one of my subsequent monographs.

[253] It is not devoid of interest to notice, that this official household, in full "blast," appears only after the formation of the confederacy. *Codice Ramirez* (p. 66): "Puso assí mismo este Rey por consejo y industria del sabio Tlacaellel en muy gran concierto su casa y corte, poniendo oficiales que le servian de mayordomos, maestresalas, porteros, coperos, pajes y lacayos, los quales eran sin número. . . . . ." This is not only confirmed by *Durán* (Cap. XXVI), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXV and XXXVI), but even by *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIV, p. 169).

[254] This can easily be inferred from the fact, already established, that all the other kinds of officers of anything like important rank, were *elected* and not appointed. See also the passage, already quoted elsewhere, of *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 496), which is very interesting in a general way.

643
~~644~~ was also the regular seat and place of office of the highest author-~~344~~ity or "tribal council," it follows that peculiar and distinct relations must have existed between that council and the officer, whose duty it was to dwell at this same house. These relations are explained to us, partly, by the statement that the "chief of men" was placed there as a watchman, to guard tribal interests in the midst of confederate business.[255] He was to be present, day and night, at this abode which was the centre wherein converged the threads of information brought by traders, gatherers of tribute, scouts and spies, as well as of all messages sent to, or received from neighboring, friendly or hostile tribes. Every such message came directly to the "chief of men," whose duty it was, before acting, to transmit its import to the "Cihuacohuatl," and through him to call together the "Tlatocan.[256] Thus the "chief of men" occupied an intermediate position between the confederacy and the tribe. He might, ex-officio be present at the deliberations of the council, but that presence was not obligatory; and no decisive or commanding voice and vote was allowed him, beyond the weight that his reasoning and personal consideration for his merits and experience might carry.

643 Whenever any conclusion was reached, it became the "chief of men's" duty to provide for its execution. Thus, if traders returned illtreated, beaten, and bruised, and the Mexican council
[202] clamored for revenge, he sent his runners to the confederate tribes, calling upon them for assistance, as the contract authorized the Mexicans to do. Sometimes these messengers were chiefs, selected by the council itself.[257] The result of their mission was reported

---

[255] An attentive perusal of *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. X) will convince the reader of the truth of this statement. See also *Durán* (Cap. XLI, p. 328; cap. LII, pp. 414 and 415) and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LVI, p. 98; cap. LXI. pp. 100 and 101; cap. LXXXII, p. 144).

[256] *Durán* (Cap. XII, p. 108): "Vuelto á Tlacaellel, le mandó avisase á los de su consejo que ablasen. . . ." also (Cap. XVI, pp. 133, 134 and 136; cap. XXI, p. 182; cap. XL, p. 316; cap. XLI, p. 330; cap. LIII, p. 419, etc., etc.). "*Codice Ramirez*," (p. 66). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXI, p. 33; cap. XXXVIII, p. 60; cap. XL, p. 65; cap. XLII, p. 69; cap. LVII, p. 98; cap. LXVIII, p. 114, etc.). Besides, it must be inferred from the fact, already proven, that the "Cihuacohuatl" was the "foreman" of the council. In this capacity, it was to him that the "chief of men" had to communicate all business to be submitted to the council.

[257] Instances of that kind are found profusely noticed in the specifically Mexican chronicles. Extensive quotations would become too lengthy, I therefore limit myself to mere indications, leaving the reader to consult the authors in question. *Tezozomoc* (*Crónica*," Cap. XXVII, p. 40, cap. XXVIII, p. 42, cap. XXXI, pp. 48 and 49, cap. XXXIV, p. 54, cap. XXXVII, p. 59, cap. LXXV, pp. 127 and 128, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 154, cap. LXXXIX, and XC, pp. 157 and 160). *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, pp. 156 and 157, cap. XIX, pp. 165 and 166, cap, XXI, p. 183, cap. XXII, p. 189, cap. XXIV, p. 201, etc., etc).

back to the "chief of men."[258] In case delegates arrived from 643
other tribes, they had to be provided with lodgings. The "tecpan"
was the place reserved for that purpose, and there they were accordingly quartered. They, consequently, first came into contact with the "chief of men," who was, officially, "mine host" for them, and who acted as intermediate between them and the supreme tribal authorities.[259]

No more striking illustrations of the foregoing can be found 643
than the reception, by the Mexicans, of Cortés and his troops, at 574
the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan. The house where the Spaniards were quartered was the "tecpan" or official house of the tribe, vacated by the official household for that purpose.[260] In sallying forth to

---

In addition to these authorities I add in a general way, *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 557). This author has evidently either copied from, or at least used the same sources as *Fray Géronimo de Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 129). My learned and highly esteemed friend, Sr. Icazbalceta, ascribes to the statements of both authors "a common origin" i. e. "Tabla de Correspondencias," (p. 36). This common source, however, is found in *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 118 and 119). From whom he, in turn, derived his information, has not as yet been ascertained.

[258] See the authors quoted above. Also *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXV, p. 502).

[259] This follows from the facts already proven in regard to the duties of the "chief of men" as head of the official household. I would particularly refer to *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. XCVII, pp. 172 and 173).

[260] "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 87): "y con esto el gran Motecuczuma, por el mismo órden que vino se volvió con el capitan Don Hernando Cortés, al qual y á los suyos mandó que aposentassen en las casas reales, donde se les dió muy buen recaudo á cada uno, segun las calidades de las diversas gentes que iban con el capitan . . . . El dia siguiente el capitan Don Hernando Cortés hizo juntar á Motecuczuma, etc., etc. . . . . . en una pieza que en la casa habia muy á propósito para esto." . . . . ; (p. 88): "Porque acabada de haser esta plática el buen capitan Don Hernando Cortés, los soldados saquearon las casas reales, y las demas principales donde sentian que habia riquezas . . . . En este tiempo receländose el Marquis no resultasse desto algun inconveniente prendió al gran Rey Motecuczuma, poniéndole con grillos, y á buen recaudo en las casas reales junto á su mismo aposento . . . . ;" (p. 89): "comenzaron á pelear con los españoles con tal furia que los hizieron retraer á las casas reales donde estaban aposentados." This is plain enough. It is commonly stated that the Spaniards were quartered at a great house belonging formerly to "Wrathy Chief's" father, "Face in the Water." The anonymous "*Fragmento No. 2*" (p. 129) has the following: "apartando la gente hasta que llegaron al palacio Real que había sido de su padre de Motecuzuma Axayacatzin, y entrando en una gran sala en donde tenia Motecuzuma su estado, se sentó y á su derecha mano á Cortés, y hizo señas Cacama que se apartasen todos y diesen órden en aposentar los cristianos y amigos que traian en aquellos grandes palacios . . . . ." This anonymous fragment is evidently of Tezcucan origin. *Sahagun* (Lib. XII. cap. XVI, p. 24): "Luego D. Hernando Cortés tomó por la mano á Mocthecuzuma, y se fueron ambos juntos á la par para las casas reales;" (Cap. XVII, p. 25): "De que los Españoles llegaron á las casas reales con Mocthecuzoma, luego le detuvieron consigo;" (Cap. XXI, p. 28): "Como comenzó la guerra entre los Indios y las Españoles, estos se fortalecieron én las casas reales con el mismo Mocthecuzoma . . . . ." (Id. p. 29, Cap. XXIII, p. 31, etc., etc.). These statements are very positive, and the less suspiciós, since they represent traditions from three different sources, all evidently furnished by eye-witnesses, namely: *Mexican* ("Cod. Ramirez"),

643 574 greet the newcomers at the dyke, "Wrathy chief" acted simply, as the representative of the tribal hospitality, extending unusual

---

Tezcucan (Fragment No. 2) and *Tlatilulcan* (Sahagun). The statements by Spanish eye-witnesses are of doubtful authority in this case, ~~since none~~ of them knew, or could know anything positive; and the pueblo was subsequently, so utterly destroyed that even its site could hardly be recognized. Nevertheless, the "old and new palaces of Montezuma" have become household words.

It is, nevertheless, interesting to compare the reports of eye-witnesses with the above quotations from aboriginal sources. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, (p. 25): "y torné á seguir por ó la calle en la forma ya dicha. fasta llegar á una muy grande y hermosa casa, que él tenia para nos aposentar, bien aderezada." The house where "Wrathy Chief" staid with his household, appears to have been some distance from the Spanish quarters, since we read (p. 27): "dejando buen recando en las encrucijadas de las calles"—thus showing that crossings intervened. The following, however, is very plain, if not decisive ("*Carta Tercera*," p. 76): "E porque lo sintiesen mas, este dia fice poner fuego á estas casas grandes de la plaza, donde la otra vez que nos echaron de la ciudad, los españoles y yo estábamos aposentados; que eran tan grandes, que un principe con mas de seiscientas personas de su casa y servicio se podian aposentar en ellas; y otras que estaban junto á ellas, que aunque algo menores eran muy mas frescas y gentiles, y tenia en ellas Muteczuma todos los linajes de aves que en estas partes habia." This remark about the "principe con mas de seiscientas personas de su casa y servicio" evidently agrees with his previous statement concerning the household of "Wrathy Chief" ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 35): "La manera de su servicio era que todos los dias luego en amaneciendo eran en su casa de seiscientos señores y personas principales, los cuales se sentaban . . . . . . Y los servidores destos, y personas de quien se acompañaban henchian dos ó tres grandes patios, y la calle . . . ." Consequently, Cortés himself plainly confirms the native authors above quoted. *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion*," etc., p. 579): "é hizo aposentar al marqués en un patio donde era la recámara de los idolos, é en este patio habie salas asaz grandes donde cupieron toda la gente del dicho marqués é muchos indios de los de Tascala é Churula que se habien llegado á los españoles para los servir." This eye-witness, therefore, does not mention either of the two "houses of Montezuma." The father of the tale is found in *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Vedia II, Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 84): "E volvamos á nuestra entrada en México, que nos llevaron á aposentar á unas grandes casas, donde habia aposentos para todos nosotros, que habian sido de su padre del gran Montezuma, que se decia Axayaca, adonde en aquella sazon tenia el gran Montezuma sus grandes adoratorios de Idolos . . . . ."

Thus Cortés, who is the principal eye-witness in the case, unmistakably states that the Spaniards were quartered at the "tecpan." Of the other two conquerors, only the last mentions the Spanish quarters as being the "house of Montezuma's father," whereas Tápia is silent on the subject. Taken in connection with the assertions of the native writers, the statements of Cortés become of great weight.

It is but natural to expect (and the fact needs no proof) that the subsequent writers have followed either one or the other of the two versions. After having transcribed the letters of Cortés, *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLV, p. 300) mentions also: "aposentó alli é á los chripstianos, en unas casas que avian seydo de su padre," which statement he gathers from other conquerors (p. 494) whose names he fails to give; (Cap. XLVII, p. 307) he calls the said house "la morada de su abuelo." I forbear further abstracts.

[344] Fortunately an official document of early date informs us of the exact situation of these two buildings. It is the "*Merced á Hernan Cortés de Tierras inmediatas á México, y Solares en la Ciudad*" (Col. de Doc's Icazbalceta, Vol. II, pp. 28 and 29). It bears date, Barcelona, 23 July, 1529, and conveys to Cortés: "los solares é casas son la casa nueva que era de Montezuma, que alinda por la una parte con la plaza mayor é la calle de Iztapalapa, é por la otra la calle de Pero Gonzalez de Truxillo, é de Martin López, carpintero; è por la otra la calle en donde están las casas de Juan Rodriguez, albañil; é por la otra la calle pública que pasa por las espaldas: è la casa vieja que era

courtesies to unusual, mysterious, and therefore dreaded guests. 643 Leaving these in possession of the "tecpan," he retired to another 574 of the large communal buildings surroudinng the central square, where the official business was, meanwhile, transacted.[261] His return to the Spanish quarters, even if compulsory, had less in it to strike the natives than is commonly believed. It was a re-installation in old quarters, and therefore the "Tlatocan," itself, felt no hesitancy in meeting there again, until the real nature of the dangerous visitors was ascertained, when the council gradually withdrew from the snare, leaving the unfortunate "chief of men" in Spanish hands.[262]

We have qualified the position of the "Tlacatecuhtli" towards 643 the council as intermediate between tribe and confederacy. In the latter body, he was but the general-in-chief and had no other duties or power.[263] Therefore, when Cortés seized the head-chief of Tezcuco, "Wrathy chief" had no authority to assure the Spaniards, although they called upon him for that purpose.[264] He ex-

---

de Montezuma, donde vivia, que alinda por la frontera con la plaza mayor é solares de [344] la iglesia, y la placeta; por un lado la calle nueva de Tacuba, é por otro la calle que va de la plaza mayor á S. Francisco; por las espaldas la calle donde están las casas de Rodrigo Rengel, é de Pero Sanchez Farfán, é de Francisco de Terrazas, è de Zamudio."

From these data it is easy to recognise in the present National Palace the site of the so-called "new houses of Montezuma," and in the buildings facing the "Empedradillo" the "Old houses." Both faced the central square of the pueblo.

The so-called "old houses" were also immediately in front of the central "house of God." It is said by Tezozomoc (Cap. LXX, p. 117): "Este templo y cerro estaba puesto adonde fueron las casas de Alonzo de Avila y Don Luis de Castilla, hasta las casas de Antonio de la Mota, en cuadro." Now according to *Icazbalceta* ("Los tres Diálogos," etc , notes to Sec'd Dialogue, p. 218): "La casa de Alonzo de Àvila estaba en la la calle del Reloj, esquina á la de Sta Teresa la Antigua." Consequently the "old houses" were indeed those which Bernal Diez mentions as "where Montezuma at that time had his great adoratories." Now these "old houses" were, as we have seen, the "tecpan" or official house of the Mexican tribe. This again fully sustains our proposition that the Spaniards were quartered there, and that the official household had vacated it for that purpose.

[261] This fully explains the designation by, "New houses of Montezuma" mentioned in the preceding note.

[262] That the council met at the Spanish quarters, is plainly stated by *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCV, pp. 95 and 96, Cap. XCVII, p. 98). *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVII, p. 509). That the members of the council gradually withdrew, is equally certain, from the fact that a successor to "Wrathy Chief" was elected, while the latter was still alive and a captive of the Spaniards.

[263] *Durán* (Cap. XLIII, p. 347). *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 11): "Le souverain de Mexico avait au dessous de lui ceux de Tacuba et de Tezcuco pour les affaires qui avaient rapport à la guerre; quant à toutes les autres, leurs puissances étaient égales, de sorte que l'un d'eux ne se mêlait jamais du gouvernement des autres;" Id. (pp. 93 and 95). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, p. 156). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 185). The two latter authors evidently have followed Zurita. See also note 4.

[264] See note 4. *Fragmento No.* 2, in "*Biblioteca Mexicana*" (pp. 142 and 143).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 ercised no command over the other tribes except in the field. Still, his position, as confederate leader, was important enough to make the right to invest him with that dignity one of the conditions of the agreement under which the confederacy was formed. Hence the two head-chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan are frequently mentioned as "electors" of the "chief of men." But their presence at the inauguration of every new officer of that rank did not imply the right to control his election.[265] It was a mere act of courtesy which the Mexicans returned, as often as their associates performed the same ceremony,[266] with this difference, however, that in the case of the Mexican chieftain, the two confederates appeared personally as being thereafter his military subordinates.

The military organization of the ancient Mexicans has already been described elsewhere,[267] and, so far, we have nothing to add to that picture. In it, as well as in social organization, the kin formed the basis, and since we have found, in the autonomous kin, that the military chieftains were the officers of justice, we are justified in looking for the officers of *tribal* justice among the chiefs of highest grade in the tribal forces. The "Cihuacohuatl" as ex-officio war-chief of the tribe could not, as we have already seen, officiate in that capacity; but the "chief of men" was very distinctly clothed with the power to punish, even to such an extent as to impart to it the character of arbitrariness and despotism. If, however, we examine closely the instances reported, they appear to limit themselves: —

1. To cases of insubordination, unfaithfulness, or treachery within the official household:[268]

[265] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 417). *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 15): "Si le souverain de Mexico mourait sans héritier, les principaux chefs lui choisissaient un successeur dont l'élection était confirmeé par les chefs supérieurs de Tezcoco et Tacuba." "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 66, 67 and 72). The chiefs, of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, are mentioned as "electors," but stress is placed only on the fact, that they "*crowned* the King." This evidently means investiture only. *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII and XXXIV). Although very full of details, he plainly avoids mentioning the chiefs of Tezcuco and Tlacopan as taking part in the election (p. 318). *Durán* (Cap. XXXII, p. 255, XXXIX, pp. 302 and 303, Cap. XLI, p. 325).

[266] *Zurita* (p. 16). *Gomara* ("*Conquista de México*," Vedia I, p. 435). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. CI, p. 179).

[267] "*Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans*," 10th Report Peabody Museum, 1877.

[268] Therefore the recommendation, by the "Cihuacohuatl," to the newly appointed servants and runners in the official household: "and behold that, where you enter, there are many valuable women, and also slaves, watch that you do not go astray, for at once you will be destroyed without the knowledge of any living soul . . . . ." *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXIII, p. 140). It is evident that the "chief of men" had, in such

643

2. To cases of military insubordination, or treachery:[269]
3. To instances of great importance, demanding sudden action in order to avoid public danger.[270]

---

cases, the right of summary punishment, as well as in the case of unfaithful stewards or disobedient subordinates in general. Compare, on the same subject, *Durán* (Cap. LIII. pp. 419 and 420). The fact. that the "Cihuacohuatl" spoke to the young men, further shows that the exercise of such extreme power was known to, and sanctioned by, the council.

[269] Quotations are useless. the necessity for such a power being too plain. But it is well, here, to state that among much ruder tribes even, and where the democratic element was carried to its greatest extremes, arbitrary punishment by war-captains sometimes occurred. Thus it is asserted that, at the bloody engagement of Point Pleasant, Va., 10 of October, 1774, "Cornstalk," the great Shawnee war-chief, tomahawked one near him who had "by trepidation and reluctance to proceed to the charge, evinced a dastardly disposition." *Alex S. Withers* ("*Chronicles of Border Warfare*," Chap. VII, p. 129). It explains also the summary punishment of traitors and deserters, as well as of those who assumed the dress of the prominent war-chiefs during a raid or an engagement.

[270] The incarceration of runners or messengers may be (and has been to me in conversation by an aged friend) brought up in proof of the belief, that the "chief of men" had a despotic power. Instances of that kind are related by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. CVI. p. 189). This is the truly admirable description of the first news brought to México of the approach of European ships. It is too lengthy to be inserted here. A runner from the coast carried the news. and "Wrathy Chief" said to Petlacalcatl, take him to the cell made of logs (probably split logs, "tablon") and look after him. This was done to keep the news secret until the matter could be investigated, and was, therefore, a preliminary measure of policy. But, aside from the fact that the isolation rather than incarceration (since the latter would have been death) of a news-carrier was a matter of policy, and as such a *duty* of the "chief of men," it was also an established custom among the Mexicans. This is stated by *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXXVII, pp. 327 and 328): "Habiendo cautivado á alguno, luego los mensageros que se llamaban tequipantitlanti, venian á dar las nuevas al rey de aquellos que habian cautivado á sus enemigos, y de la victoria que habian obtenido los de su parte . . . . y el señor los respondia diciéndoles: "Seais muy bien venidos. huélgome de oir esas nuevas, sentad y esperad, porque me quiero certificar mas de ellas, y asi los mandaba guardar, y si hallaba que aquellas nuevas eran mentirosas. hacialos matar." *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 536): "y que no le dejasen salir de Palacio hasta tener segundo Correo, que confirmase aquella buena nueva, que él havia traido. *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro*," Parte IIa, Trat. II°, cap. II, p. 281), almost a textual copy of the preceding author, as might be expected.

Among the many tales of prodigies, supernatural warnings, witchcraft, etc., etc., connected with the months and years immediately preceding the arrival of the Spaniards in Mexico, there is, also, one bearing a particularly pure Indian character. See *Durán* (Cap. LXVIII, pp. 524–530). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. CVI, p. 188 and 189). "Wrathy Chief," alarmed by mysterious prognostics, called upon all the old men, women, and the medicine-men, to report what they *might dream* or *had dreamt* within a certain lapse of time. It is well known what high value is attached by the Indians in general to *dreams*. There can be no doubt that, with the prevailing notion that dreams contained important and solemn premonitions, warnings from a higher source (*Sahagun* Lib. V), the request to communicate such dreams for the benefit of the tribe, to the "chief of men," was very natural. According to *Motolinia* ("*Hist. de los Indios de la Nueva-España*," Col. de Doc., Trat. II, cap. VIII, p. 130), certain men were particularly expert in explaining and interpreting dreams, so much so, that they were generally applied to for such purposes. If now, as the story in question has it, the said people refused to comply with such requests, the "chief of men" might, of his own accord, [787] 643 The power to appoint, which the "chief of men" enjoyed within the limits of the official household, implied, to the same extent, the power to remove and to punish. It was not even necessary to refer such cases to the action of the council.

In punishing summarily acts of insubordination, or of treachery, when committed during warfare, the "chief of men" acted as commander-in-chief and in strict compliance with the duties of that office.

Lastly, a certain amount of discretionary power was necessarily vested in the chief commander for the public good. Placed at the "tecpan" to "watch, guard and protect" the tribe and the confederacy, it was necessary to empower the "Tlacatecuhtlli" in cases of great urgency, to act "on the spur of the moment." It was not a privilege of royalty or a despotic right, but an obligation resulting from the nature of the office.

643
692 Consequently the "chief of men" was not, properly, the executioner of tribal justice either. This duty devolved upon other war-chiefs of lower rank, who, although superior in command to the leaders of the kins, when on the war-path, never otherwise interfered with the duties of the latter, any more than tribal jurisdiction conflicted with that of the autonomous kins. These chiefs were the "four leaders of the four great quarters of Mexico Tenuchtitlan,"[271] or, as we have already intimated, of the four *phratries* into which the twenty kins had again agglomerated for religious and military purposes. These four "great quarters," named respectively, "Moyotlan," "Teopan," "Aztacalco" and "Cuepopan,"[272] were not, as the current notion has it, so many governmental subsections, or wards of aboriginal Mexico. Shells

---

even treat them as traitors, and secure their persons to prevent injury to the public cause. All this, of course, provided the story be true!

The cases where secrecy is enjoined under penalty of death, are so plain that no illustration is needed. The "chief of men" had the right, in preparing general business, to give secret orders, to detail particular persons on secret missions. Anyone divulging the secrets entrusted to him, committed an act of treason, and therefore it was necessary that he should be chastised on the spot and on the spur of the moment, to obviate further mischief.

[271] "*Art of War*" (pp. 120, 121 and 122, especially notes 97, 99 and 101).

103 [272] The formation of these geographical circumscriptions I have already explained. The names can, in part, be etymologized. They are respectively: "Moyotlan" or place of the mosquito, from "moyotl," mosquito (*Molina* II. p. 58); "Teopan" or place of God, from "Teotl," God; "Aztacalco," "place of the house of the heron," from "Aztatl," heron (*Molina* I, p. 65 and II, p. 10), and "calli," house; "Cuepopan" or "place of the dyke," from "cuepotli," dyke (*Molina* I, p. 23, II, p. 26). All of which are, respectfully, submitted.

of as many original kins, common worship, perhaps, and common 643 leadership in battle, were all that remained of the former organic 692 cluster.[273] Rites of worship, as practised by a phratry, it is not the place here to investigate, and the position and functions of the phratry in warfare have already been discussed by us. The office of tribal executioners of justice, however, vested in the "four leaders" of the four phratries, deserves particular attention here.

The names of the four war-captains or rather their official titles, 701 are: "man of the house of darts" (Tlacochcalcatl), "cutter of men" (Tlacatecatl), "bloodshedder" (Ezhuahuacatl), and "chief of the Eagle and prickly pear" (Cuauhnochtecuhtli). These officers are first noticed in the begnning of the fifteenth century, at the time the confederacy was formed.[274] They appear as immediate adjuncts or assistants — military lieutenants as it were — to the "chief of men" then promoted to the position of confederate commander, as well as of the "Cihuacohuatl."[275] Their

---

[273] These four geographical clusters, each comprising a certain number of original 103 kins or calpulli, became known subsequently as the four Indian wards of Mexico, 701 named respectively, San Juan (Moyotlan), San Pablo (Teopan), San Sebastian (Aztacalco), Santa Maria (Cuepopan). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LIX, p. 98), *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica*," 633 etc., p. 124). *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 42). That each of them comprised a certain number of kins has already been stated. The four chiefs are often mentioned as "councillors;" but their very position as immediate assistants to the "chief of men," is clearly established by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58). which agrees with *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103) and also by *Sahagun* (Lib. XXX. p. 318): "Elegido el señor, luego elegian otros cuatro que eran como senadores que siempre habian de estar al lado de él, y entender en todos los negocios graves del reino," . . . This makes it evident that they must have been war-chiefs, and not representatives, in the supreme council, of an administrative circumscription superior to the "calpulli"—"barrio" or localized kindred group. The four "main quarters" therefore formed *military* bodies only, and this follows plainly from the detailed descriptions of warfare, so profusely given in the chronicles of *Tezozomoc*. The truth of this *fact* has been felt, though not fully understood, by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VII, pp. 494 and 495) where he hints at the four chiefs (under various names) as so many "classes of generals." These four superior war-captains are, besides. found also in Michhuacan, "*Relacion, etc., etc., Mechuacan*" ("Primera Parte," p. 13): "tenia puesto cuatro señores muy principales en cuatro fronteras de la provincia," and in Peru, where they have been decorated with the titles of "vice-roy."

It is interesting to note here that the term "barrio" is applied by Spanish authors indiscriminately to the four great subdivisions and to the kins themselves.

[274] *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 97, 103 and 103), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV. p. 24) both place the organization by which these four chiefs appear prominent. immediately after the overthrow of the Tecpaneca. and before the confederacy with the Tezcucans and Tlacopans. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIV, p. 226) speaks in general terms of a "reorganization," after the confederacy had been formed. So does *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 498), while "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58) agrees with the two first.

[275] It is self-evident that these four chieftains were also inferior to the "snake-woman;" and this fact is amply illustrated. *Durán* (Cap. XVI, pp. 140 and 141) con- [643]

701 office was, of course, elective and non-hereditary, and the election took place in the same manner and (sometimes, at least) at the same time as that of the "chief of men."[276] In case the latter was unable to lead the confederate forces on the war-path, and the "Cihuacohuatl" himself was not available either, then the posts of chief commander as well as of leader of the Mexicans proper, might be filled by one or the other of them.[277] This, however, was always a temporary situation, and there appears to have been no difference of rank between the four, since the Mexican

---

● [643] cerning "Ezhuahuacatl," Cap. XXII, p. 169): "y luego Tlacaellel, principe de la milicia, mandó en nombre del rey que fuesen apercibidos, etc., etc. . . ." "Llamó el rey á un señor que se llamaua Cuauhnochtli y hizolo general de toda la moltitud diciéndole que Tlacaellel era ya viejo y que no podria ya ir á guerra tan apartada, dándole todas las exenciones y autoridad que semejante oficio requeria, ..." (Cap. XXXIV, p. 287, etc., etc.). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XVII. p. 27), Tlacaellel, subsequently elected "Cihuacohuatl," was then only "Tlacochcalcatl," and he is, at that time, merely mentioned as "uno de ellos de los capitanes." Still (p. 28) he appears as "capitan general de ellos." (Cap. XXII, p. 34): "Respondió Tlacatleltzin y dijo: quiero dar aviso á Tlacatecatl. y á Tlacochcalcatl, para que publiquen luego en toda esta república esta guerra por los varrios, . . ." (Cap. XXVIII, p. 43): "mandaron el rey Moctezuma y Zihuacoatl, á los capitanes Tlacatecatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Cuauhnochtli. y Tilancalqui, que luego al tercer dia se apercibiesen y pusiesen en camino con sus armas y vituallas," etc., etc. This entire "Crónica" bristles with facts of that kind, too numerous to quote. The fact, amply proven heretofore, that the "Zihuacoatl" was also ex-officio head-war-chief of the tribe of Mexico, is alone sufficient to establish the inferiority of the four others. See "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 67).

[276] In evidence of this there is the entire series of specifically Mexican authors, starting with the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 57): "Primeramente ordenaron que siempre se guardasse este estatuto en la corte Mexicana, y es que despues de electo Rey en ella, eligiessen quatro señores, hermanos ó parientes mas cercanos del mismo Rey, los quales tuviessen ditados de principes: los ditados que entonces dieron á estos quatro al primero fué . . . (follow the four names and titles). . . ." The same version has been adopted with more or less variation, by *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 103 and 105), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV, pp. 24 and 25), *Joseph de Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441) and *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap XIX, pp. 75 and 76). Besides, there is the independent version of *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap, XXX and XXXI, pp. 318 and 319), who is even too positive, stating, or at least leading to the inference, that at every election of a "chief of men," the four offices were also newly filled, and invested at the same time. This appears to be a misconception, explained by the Codice Ramirez and by Durán.

It may be in place here to refer to a different version, which reduces the number of these assistants to the "chief of men" to two only. We find it in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 448): "Las apelaciones iban á otros dos Jueces mayores, que llaman tecuitlato, y que siempre solian ser parientes del señor . . . ." and also in *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 95). By reference, however, to *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. XX), it will be seen that the celebrated Franciscan speaks of only two of the four which he mentions (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX). These two are "Tlacochcalcatl" and "Tlacatecatl" ("Tlacochtecutli" and "Tlacatecutli" by abbreviation), whom he again calls (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 311) "principal captains, of which there were always two," while (Lib. IX. cap I, p. 396) he calls the same, "governors of Tlatilulco." The Tlatiluican tradition appears very plainly in the writings of the learned friar, which writings have wielded such a vast influence in literature on aboriginal Mexico.

[277] "*Art of War*" (p. 122), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 311), *Durán* (Cap. XXII, p. 169), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXI, p. 494).

701 had the right to appoint the assistants whom they needed, beyond sending out subordinates, or rather detailing them on particular errands. As to watchmen in the market-places,—the officers who circulated about preserving peace and order there—they were placed at their posts by the tribe. But it was their duty to report to the chief executive-officers, nay, to apply to them for assistance, whenever anything happened which required the exercise of higher power. On the other hand, these subalterns obeyed their orders in the interests of tribal business.

701
643 We have already noticed that, among the four, "Cuauhnochtecuhtli" is most distinctly mentioned as judicial executioner, even prominently before the others. But this officer again is lost sight of at the election of a "chief of men." Then another looms up in his place. This is the "man of the black house," Tlilancalqui. It appears that each of the three first-named positions namely: "Tlacochcalcatl," "Tlacatecatl," "Ezhuahuacatl," was, together with the last-named "Tlilancalqui," a preparatory stage for the office of "chief of men."[262] "One of these four had to be elected king" says the Codex Ramirez.[263] While it is difficult to

---

[262] This statement rests upon the authority of the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 58), which document agrees almost verbally with *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103). Aside from *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV) and *Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV), who both, though rather vaguely, confirm the above, there are other indications confirming it. For instance *Codex Mendoza* (plate XI, interpretation or rather text): "Ytem el dicho Tiçoçicatzi fue por estremo valiente y velicoso en armas, y antes que subcediese en el dicho señorio, hizo por su persona en las guerras cosas hazañosas de valentia, pordonde alcanzó tomar dictado de Tlacatecatl, que tenia por titulo de gran calidad y estado, y era el punto de que en vacando dicho señorio, el tal punto y grado subcedia luego en el dicho señorio, lo qual ansimismo sus antecesores hermanos altras contenidos, y padre, y aguélo tuviéron el mismo curso de los titulos y dictado, por donde subiéron a ser señores de México." Again (plate LXVIII, tercera partida), no difference is made between "Tlacatecatl" and "Tlacochcalcatl;" both are called "valientes" and "capitanes de los exercitos Mexicanos." *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LV, p. 178): "y que Axayacatl, Hijo de Tepoçomoctli (Señor Mexicano) era Hombre Valeroso, y de mui gran *fuerte*, para el Reinado, fue de comun consentimiento, pasado à esta Dignidad, de la que tenia de Tlacahcalcatl, y Capitan General, y hecho Rei." (Cap. LXIII, p. 186): "Ahuitzotl, Hermano del Difunto, y de su Antecesor Axayacatl, era Tlacatecatl, ó Capitan General de los Mexicanos. . . ." Thus he acknowledges that both Tlacatecatl and Tlacochtecatl were alike eligible. It is but natural to read similar assertions in *Vetancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, cap. XVI, p. 305, cap. XVIII, p. 280), and *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 262, cap. XXII, p. 287). This author speaks of the different "chiefs of men" having been "generals in chief" of the Mexicans. Now since (Lib. VII, cap. XXI, p. 494) he states that the "Tlacochcalcatl" was the "principal" among the war-captains, it follows, that the chiefs named by him had all attained that rank. But we know that other authorities frequently give them another title also, therefore the conclusion is but natural that there were *several* head-chiefs for military purposes, etc., from whom the "chief of men" might be chosen.

[263] "*Biblioteca Mexicana*" (p. 56).

conceive why the captain "Cuauhnochtecuhtli" should *not* be one 701
of the privileged four, it is easy to understand why the "man of 643
the black house" should be of that number. The dark house, "Casa Lobrega" of Nuñez de la Vega, in Chiapas, plays a conspicuous part in the worship, or "medicine" of the aborigines of Mexico and Central America.[264] The "man of the black, or dark house," was therefore an intermediate between "medicine" and tribal government. As such, he appears to occupy a stage preparatory to the high office of "chief of men," and represents, together with the "satraps and papaoaqui" named by Sahagun,[265] the element of medicine or worship in the election of that officer. "Tlilancalqui" is occasionally, though rarely, mentioned as a war-chief,[266] but missions of importance appear to have been intrusted to him; and Joseph de Acosta calls the three other chiefs "warriors,"[267] to his exclusion; and finally, he is made a confidential advisor in times of great public danger. This is about all we know of this office, in relation to the government of the Mexican tribe.

The fact, amply proven as it is, that the "chief of men" had to be selected from among the four chiefs and officers enumerated, bears directly on the nature of the dignity with which the "Tlacatecuhtli" was invested. It fully disposes of the assumptions, that this officer was anything but an Indian war-chief of the highest order, or that heredity was attached to the office, though it does not disprove succession of office limited to any single *kin*. While it thus explains many incidental features of organization and government, it leads us back to the office of "chief of men" and through it, recalls some of the fundamental attributes of the tribe.

---

[264] *J. H. von Minutoli* ("*Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatemala,*" etc., "*Teatro Critico Americano,*" by *Felix Cabrera*, German translation, p. 31): "house of darkness which he (Votan) had built in the space of a few respirations." But the dark house is yet more positively noticed in Guatemala. *Popol Vuh* (Part II. chap. II, p. 85): "Gekuma Ha," from "Gek" black, "*Grammaire QQuichée*" (p. 180). Also (Chap. VIII, p. 147, cap. IX, pp. 148 and 149). It is interesting to notice, in connection with this, that [712]
the same gathering of aboriginal traditions also mentions (p. 81) a house filled with lances (darts): "E'oo chicut Chayim-ha u bi, utuquel chakol chupam zaklelohre chi cha, chi tzininic, chi yobohic, chiri pa ha." (Cap. IX, p. 154): "qate chicut ta x-e oc chi qaholab pa Chaim-ha." This corresponds with the Mexican "Tlacochcalcatl." Again we are treated (p. 85) to a "house of tigers" also repeated (p. 154), and it is easy to recognize in it a counterpart to the "Tlacatecatl." Thus again the analogy between the Guatemaltecans and the Mexicans, appears sustained to some extent.

[265] "*Historia general,*" etc. (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318).

[266] By *Tezozomoc*. Quotations are superfluous. See his "*Crónica.*"

[267] "*Historia natural y moral de Indias*" (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441).

642 We have already stated that the tribe was a voluntary association of kins for mutual protection. Though this was undoubtedly the original purpose, it becomes evident that, in course of time and as a result of success in warfare, the tribe, as a military organization, grew into a cluster for procuring and increasing subsistence.[288] This was achieved by gathering booty in successful raids, and by imposing tribute upon tribes whose military power had been overcome in such dashes and forays.

642
648 Previous to the formation of the confederacy, but few tribes had been conquered by the Mexicans.[289] In fact, it was the nearly equally balanced power of the Pueblos occupying the lake basin, that made the formation of that confederacy possible. Such a course was necessary to prevent them from destroying each other for the benefit of expectant neighbors.[290] But when once this confederacy was formed, then their joint efforts were directed to conquest, and to the acquisition of the means of subsistence through tribute. As the imposition of tribute was a military measure, so, also, its collection was in the hands of the *military* branch of the tribal government. This is evident from the fact that the kins had delegated to the tribe all authority over outside [643] matters.[291] Hence the "chief of men" became the official head of tribute-gatherers.[292]

---

[288] "*Art of War*" (pp. 96, 97 and 98, also notes).

[289] The number and names of these tribes are yet undefined. The specifically *Mexican* sources insisting upon a *conquest* of Tezcuco (by force of arms) by the Mexicans, it follows that, according to the *Codice Ramirez* (pp. 51 to 61), the tribes subjected before that supposed event, were the Tecpaneca, the Xochimilca, and those of Cuitlahuac, or the settlements to the west and southwest. *Durán* (Cap. IX to XV) and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. VIII to XX) concur; so does, of course, *Acosta* (Lib. VII. cap. XII to XV). The *Codex Mendoza* (plates V and VI) adds to the above the pueblos of Chalco, Acolhuacan and of Quauhnahuac (Cuernavaca). If we compare it with the *Tezcucan* tradition, as reported by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXI, p. 216) we notice that it is claimed for that tribe, that it assisted the Mexicans in the conquest of Xochimilco and Cuitlahuac, although the formal confederation took place (according to the same authority, Cap. XXXII) some years later. According to *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XLII, pp. 148, etc.), *Vetancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. 1°, cap. XIV, p. 291), the Xochimilcas were conquered by the confederates. According to *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua*," Lib. III, cap. I, p. 150), the Tezcucans subjected Xochimilco. *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. V, p. 255) agrees with the Mexican version.

[290] "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 61).

[291] This resulted from the constitution of the tribe, as an association of kins for mutual protection and sustenance.

[651] [292] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. X. p. 18): "y aunque envian á dario á Ytzcoatl era para todos los Mexicanos en comun." The fact that the gathering of tribute was directly controlled by the "chief of men" is so generally admitted that it hardly needs any further proof. *Ramirez de Fuenleal* ("*Lettre*," etc., p. 248, 1er *Recueil*) ascribes the gathering of tribute to an officer whom he calls "tecuxcalcatectli." This should be, properly,

Whenever any tribe, with or without a struggle, yielded to the 648
warlike power of the Mexicans and their associates, the amount 651
and kind of articles to be delivered, as tribute, at fixed periods,
was at once determined between "the parties.[293] For the faithful
performance of that contract, the vanquished stood in daily peril
of their lives;[294] and in order to watch them constantly, and to
regulate the delivery and transmission of the tribute, special
officers were maintained among the conquered pueblos by their
conquerors. These officers were called "gatherers of the crops,"
calpixqui. Each one of the three confederates sent its own
"calpixqui" among the tribes which had become its exclusive
prey, and where, as sometimes occurred, one pueblo paid tribute
to all three confederates, it had to submit to the residence in its
midst, of as many representative gatherers of duties.[295]

"tlacochcalcatl-tecuhtli." But we know that the duties of the latter officer were quite [643
different. Still, the collection of tribute being a branch of military life, the mistake
is easily accounted for. The military chronicles of the Mexican tribe teem with 651]
instances where the stewards are described as under direct orders of the "chief of men," as in *Zurita* (pp. 68, 69, 70). It may also be inferred from the exaggerated statements about the tribute system among the Tezcucans, contained in *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXV, pp. 239-241).

[293] I refer to the following passages of *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. IX, p. 16, Capture of Ascaputzalco; Cap. XV, p 24. Cuyuacan; XVII, p. 28, Xochimilco; XVIII, p. 29, Cuitlahuac; XXVI, p. 40, Chalco; XXVII, p. 41. Tepeacac and Tecamachalco; XXIX, pp. 44 and 45, Tzicoac and Tucpan; XXXII, p. 50, Ahuilizapan, and the Totonaca; XXXVIII, p. 58, Coayxtlahuacan; XXXVIII, p. 61, Huaxaca; Cap. LXI, p. 102, Chiapan and Xilotepec; Cap. LXV, p. 110, Cuextlan; Cap. LXXII, p. 122: Teloloapan; LXXVI, p. 130, Tecuantepec and others; LXXIX, p. 136, Xoconuchco; LXXXIV, p. 148, Nopallan; LXXXVIII, Xaltepec; XCI, p. 159. Quetzaltepec). *Durán* (Cap. IX, p. 77; X, p. 84; XII. p. 112; XVII, p. 151; XVIII, p. 159; XIX, p. 171; XXI, p. 185; XXII. p. 191; XXIV, p. 205; XXXIV, p. 269; XLI, p. 321; XLVI, p. 373, etc.). These passages fully illustrate the manner in which the tribute was imposed on the vanquished, at the close of a successful foray. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 271 to 273). *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 313): "Habiendo pacificado la provincia, luego los señores del campo repartian tributos á los que habian sido conquistados. . . ."

[294] *Durán* (Cap. LIII; p. 423). Also the complaints of the Indians of Compohual and Quiahuiztlan (Totonaconas) (on the coast), to Cortés, about the dread in which they continually stood of being overrun again by the Mexicans and their confederates. (*Cortés* "*Carta Segunda*," p. 13, Vedia I), *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XLV, p. 40; XLVI, p. 41, Vedia II), "*Real Ejécutoria, etc.*" (Col. de Doc's II, p. 12).

[295] This results from the "articles of agreement" of the confederacy. See besides: *Zurita* (p. 67). *Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotl* ("*Memorial dirigido al rey, etc.*" "*Géografia de las Lenguas*," *Orozco y Berra* pp. 244 and 245) also states: "The pueblos whose tributes were distributed among Mexico and Tezcuco and Tacuba were the following: Coayxtlavuacan, Cuauhtuchco, Cotlaxtlan, Aviliçapan, Tepeaca." Against this there stands the version of *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XLI, p. 59): "Luego alli habló otro principal que se llamaba Mixcoatlaylotlacauelitoctzin, dilo al señor capitan, que cuando vivia Mocthecuzomá el estilo que se tenia en conquistar, era este, que iban los Mexicanos, y los Tezcucanos, y los de Tlacupan, y los de las Chinampas, todos

648 651 Thus the Mexicans had a number of such officers scattered among tributary settlements. The "chief of men" controlled their actions, but his power did not extend over the "calpixca" of the tribes of Tezcuco and Tlacopan. He could not even appoint the stewards sent to dwell among the tributary foreigners,[296] this power being vested in the council alone.[297] Such an office was by no means a post of honor and enjoyment. On the contrary, there was no more responsible or dangerous duty within or without the tribe. The "calpixqui" while he had not the slightest authority to meddle with the affairs of the tribe where he lived,[298] was expected to watch closely the dispositions and incli-

---

juntos iban sobre el pueblo ó provincia que querian conquistar, y despues que lo habian conquistado, luego se volvian á sus casas, y á sus pueblos, y despues venian los señores de los pueblos que habian sido conquistados, y traian su tributo de oro y de piedras preciosas, y de plumages ricos, y todo lo daban à Mocthecuzoma, y asi todo el oro venia á su poder." This plain and very natural statement, from a Tlatilulcan chief who afterwards became "gobernador" of Tlatilulco (*Sahagun*, Lib. VIII, cap. II, p. 274), has been twisted by *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 572), so as to say among other things: "and they had the tributes gathered at Mexico, and here it was distributed among the three Lords according to the directions given by him of Mexico." *Torquemada* has, in this instance, evidently changed the text of his predecessor. There is also an undeniable confusion here between booty and tribute. The former had to be divided among the conquerors while they were yet together; the latter occurred regularly afterwards, and hence did not need to go through the hands of Mexicans again. The story of Torquemada is corroborated by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIX, p. 282), who clearly says that "Fasting Wolf" put stewards only when the tribute belonged to his tribe, but that the whole tribute was brought to Mexico and there "the agents of the three chiefs divided it among themselves. Finally, we have the obscure statements of *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (pp. 244, 247, in 1er Recueil of Mr. Ternaux).

[296] The "Calpixcayotl" was a permanent office, not a temporary duty or mission; consequently its incumbents could not be appointed by a single war-chief. There is evidence to that effect. According to *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, p. 164), after those of Tepeacac had been conquered, "Cihuacohuatl" placed a steward in their midst: "Mirá que en ello no aya falta ni quiebra; y para questo mejor se cumpla, os quiere poner un
[443] gobernador de los señores Mexicanos, al qual aneis de obedecer y tener en lugar de la real persona, el qual se llama Coacuech, y con esto os podeis ir en norabuena á vuestras tierras y ciudades porque al rey no le podeis hablar." (Cap. XXI, pp. 186 and 187). The steward for Cuetlaxtlan was chosen by the "Snake-woman;" or at least his choice was proclaimed by that officer. (Cap. XXIII, p. 199): "Acauado el sacrificio y despedidos los güéspedes, Tlacaelel, con consejo del rey, enuió un virey á Coaixtlavac para que tuviese cargo de aquella provincia y de los tributos reales, el qual se llamaua Cuanxochitl. . . . ."

[297] This results from the fact that the "Cihuacohuatl" announced the newly chosen "Calpixqui." In this case he plainly acted as *foreman of the council*, proclaiming their choice.

[298] I have already, in note 4, disposed of the statements of *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 313): "y luego elegian gobernadores y oficiales que presidiesen en aquella provincia, no de los naturales de ella, sino de los que la habian conquistado." In further explanation thereof, I beg to call attention to some statements of the interpreters of the *Codex Mendoza* (plates XX and XXI): "Los pueblos figurados en los dos planos siguientes, resumidos aqui, son diez y ocho pueblos, segun que están entitulados. Por

651 489 tives to whom it was delivered.[307] If the gathering of tribute thus required a set of officers necessarily placed beneath the orders of the military chieftain, another set was needed for its preservation and judicious distribution. If the one consisted of stewards dwelling outside of the pueblo, the other was composed exclusively of home-stewards. Every convoy was therefore "consigned" to a proper officer, whose duty it was to receive it and then abide the directions of his superiors as to its apportionment.[308]

[643] 647 651 We have already mentioned the "Cihuacohuatl" as the officer, who was responsible to the council for the administration of the stores and the proper distribution thereof, though he had beneath him another officer, to whom this duty was really and practically assigned. Torquemada and those who have followed his school, call this subordinate "great crop-gatherer," "Hueycalpixqui,"[309] whereas Tezozomoc and Durán apply to him the title of "man of the house of chests" "Petlacalcatl"[310] In both cases, however, he is represented as "chief steward," to whom all the others should render account. He superintended the distribution of the tribute,[311] and to him the kins came for their share—perhaps the largest of all. Unfortunately, we are unable to establish the principles upon which the division took place. All that we know is, that the tribe received one portion and the kins or "calpulli" the other, and that the "man of the house of chests," under whose eyes the distribution took place, afterwards looked to those stores, in particular, which were reserved for the tribe, i. e.: for the demands of the tribal government.[312] Therefore, the "man of the house of chests" frequently appears to be under the direct orders of the "chief of men," who could apply to him, more particularly, for such articles as were required for the exercise of tribal hospitality including gifts, and for displays of finery on particularly solemn occasions.[313] It is true that, as we have elsewhere shown, particular tracts of land, "tecpan-tlalli," were reserved among tributary tribes for the demands of the official

---

[307] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. X, p. 18). *Herrera* (Dec. III. lib. IV. cap. XVII, p. 128).

[308] *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXII, p. 51): "A los dichos pueblos fué un mayordomo para cobrar este tributo, como para todos los demas pueblos, que en Mexico havia un mayordomo, y otro en el mismo pueblo para mayor sugecion y vasallage."

[309] *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. VI, pp. 544, 545), copied by Vetancurt (Parte IIa, Trat. II°, cap. I°, pp. 370 and 371), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. X, pp. 468 and 469).

[310] Also by the *Codex Mendoza* (Interpretation to plates XX, XXI, etc.).

[311] See note 309, also *Tezozomoc* and *Durán*.

[312] This is so frequently mentioned by *Tezozomoc*, that I forbear detailed quotations.

[313] *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," sundry places, too numerous to refer to).

527 533 the Tenime;[9] or those of Tepetlan; or the Chichimeca; or those of Metztitlan; or the Otomí warriors or of the Quaquata; or the rabbit songs; or songs with two-toned drums, etc.; or women's songs; or those of the girls with the lock of hair at the side of the head. Or perchance only songs of debauchery, or of bragging; or of the sick, or of the cripples; or of the shorn ones; or of vice, etc.

535 So it was said that verily the [day sign of the] flower was in place.

292 527 643 And then the majordomos gathered together all the ruler's dancing array which he requested, and which he might exhibit; whatever he might desire to dance in, in which he would show himself to the people.

527 643 431 And then he gave devices to the chieftains, the insignia-bearers, the Otomí, the shorn ones, the commanding generals, the generals, those who struck, encircled, overtook, hemmed in, and spied on the people.

643 527 533 535 431 And at that time, in truth, favors were accorded and distributed. He singled out, by means of gifts, all the singers, the singers from the common folk, the song-writers, the composers, the beaters of drums—the ground drums, the two-toned drums; two-toned drum players, those who started the singing, those who led, those who gave the pitch, and those who whistled with their fingers; and the leaders and conductors of the dance, the dancers, those who urged the dancers on, those who distributed them, those with trembling voices, those who made noises like a weasel;[10] the circle dancers, and all who belonged and worked with those mentioned.

262 527 Before them came their food, the prepared foods:—tamales with beans forming a sea-shell on top; fruit tamales; tamales of a dough of maize treated with lime; hard tamales with maize grains thrown in; tamal-stones; large tortillas; coarse, white tortillas; rolled tortillas; doubled tortillas, tortilla pies; tortillas shredded, or wrapped about turkey; tamales formed in rolls; tamales of maize; ground-up tamales; crumbled tortillas; folded tortillas; meat with grains of maize.

527 And when they had tired and were wearied of dancing, then they took and burned the two flowered poles. And then they fashioned and adorned still

cujcatl, tochcujcatl, teponazcujcatl. Etc. çioacujcatl, atzotzocolcujcatl, auh in anoço çan aujlcujcatl, ixcuecuechcujcatl, cococujcatl, quappitzcujcatl, quateçoquijcujcatl, aujlcujcatl. Etc.

yc mjtoaia ça nel onjcac in suchitl.

Ioan vncã qujcenqujxtiaia, in cacalpixque in jxqujch imâceollatquj tlatoanj, qujtlanenectia, qujtlâtlattitia, in catle coneleujz, ipan onmjtotiz, ipan ontetlattitiz:

ioãn vncan qujntlavizmacaia, in tiacaoan, in tetlaujcecaoa, in otomj, in quaquachicti, in tlatlacatecca, in tlatlacochcalca, in tevitequjnj, in temalacachoanj, in tevitequjnj, in tetzacujianj, in tetlallanvianj:

yoan vel oncan mocnaviaia, mopixqujaia, tlatemachiaia, netlauhtiltica, in jxquich cujcani, mâceoalcujcanj, in cujcatlalianj, in cujcapiqujnj: auh in tlatzotzonquj, in vevetzonquj, teponaço, teponaçoanj cujcaito, cujcaânquj, cujcatlazquj, yoan in mapipitzoanj: auh in teiacanquj, in teiacananj, mjtotianj, motlaqujtotianj, tlamoiauhquj, tozcacuecuechoanj, tocujlechoanj, tlacocoloanj: moch iehoan intech povia, intech açia, in mjtoa:

ixpampa vitz, itlaqualtzin, in tlaqualrectli, in quatecujcujlli, xocotamalli, tenextamalli, tetamalli, tlatzincujtl, tamaltetl, vei tlaqualli, quauhtlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli, tlacuelpacholli, tlaçiiocuepalli, tlaxcalcotoztli, totolqujmjlli, tamalmjmjlli, tamalatl, tamalcuecuechtli, papaiaxtlaxcalli, papaiantlaxcalpacholli, nacatlaoio.

Auh in jquac otlatziuh, in ocontlatzilhuj mâceoaliztli, njman qujcalaqujaia, qujtlatiaia, in vme suchiquavitl: auh iquac oc centlamãtli, ic qujxiptlaiotiaia,

---

[9] Cf. *ibid.*, X, 29, 94-95; *gente bárbara* was a term generally understood by *tenime*.

[10] In describing the sound made by the weasel Sahagún, Book V, chap. vi, reads *auh inic tlamo pipitzca, inhquin mapipitzoa: [illegible]* . . . See also, Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 235 (*[illegible]*).

681 And then also at that time,¹ died those who were
in jail, who were there for something which demanded
696 the supreme penalty: perhaps an adulterer,
or a thief, or a fire priest of whom something had
been found out — perchance he had had a paramour
— and who was known as an evildoer; or whatsoever
sin he had committed. Also of the captives some then
died.

● 643 It was said that through these Moctezuma received
life. By them his fate was strengthened; by them he
761 was exalted, and on them he placed the burden. So
it was said that it was as if through them once more
he were rejuvenated, so that he might live many
years. Through them he became famous, achieved
honor, and became brave, thereby making himself
terrifying.

x 787 And when someone was then born,[3] they feared
that the [Goddesses] might at that time descend.
851 But later, on Three Crocodile, he was bathed; then
they made his fate somewhat better, for, so it was
said, Three Crocodile was a good time.

x 787 And also it was said that he who was then born
a nobleman became a sorcerer, an astrologer.[4] That
754 is to say, he was inhuman. He changed himself into
791 something [else]: because of it he turned himself
into something [else]. Perchance he had as a disguise
a wild beast,[5] etc.

And if [he were] a commoner, likewise it was his work to turn himself into perhaps a turkey, or a weasel, or a dog. Whatsoever was his guise became his magic form. All his task was to assume and accumulate all manner of evil. He influenced women; he bewitched and was clever with women;

Auh yoan no iquac vncã mjquja in quauhcalco onoca, in jtla ic cate, in vei qujtzacuticatca, aço tetlanxinquj, anoço ichtecquj, in anoço tlenamacac, itla oittililoc, aço momecati, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque in çaço catle in ovi oqujtlaco: no iehoan in mamaltin, cequjntin vncan mjquja,

mjtoa: ca iehoan inca mozcaltiaia in motecuçoma, inca motonalchicaoaia, inca moquetzaia, inca moqujxtiaia, iuh mjtoa: iuhqujn oc ceppa inca mopilqujxtiaia, ynjc vecaoaz, inca motleiotia, momaujzçotia, motequantlalia, ic motlamauhtilia.

Auh in aqujn ipan tlacatia, qujmacacia injc vncan temoa: auh qujn jpan in ei cipactli, maltiaia, vncan achi qujqualtilia in jtonal, iuh mjtoa: ca qualcan in jpan ey cipactli.

No yoan mjtoaia: in aqujn ipan tlacatia pilli, naoalli mochioaia tlãciuhquj, qujtozneqél: amo tlacatl, itla qujmonaoaltiaia, itla ic mocuepaia, aço tequannaoale. Etc.

auh intla maceoalli, no iuhquj itequjuh catca, aço totoli, aço coçamatl, anoço chichi, ipan moqujxtiaia, in çaço tlein inecuepaliz, ynaoal mochioaia, muchi itequjuh, qujcenmama, qujcemololoa, in jxqujch tlauelilocaiotl, cioanotzquj, xochioa, cjoatlatole, tempachioace, tetlatlacuepili, teiolmalacacho, teioiolmala-

---

[3] An additional phrase in the *Real Palacio MS* will change the meaning somewhat: *ayamo maltiaya, ypampa — and when someone was then born, not then was he bathed for they feared. . . .*

[4] Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 170-172: "*en primer término significó . . . algo así como un 'demonio familiar,' o un 'doble' del alma, a manera del egipcio* [citing a passage in *La leyenda de los soles*]. . . . *De esta primaria significación pasó a la de la 'duplicación de la persona,' o el 'desdoblamiento.' . . . Se concibe el brujo capaz de tomar las formas que él quiera, de aparecer en diversos modos y lugares, de ejecutar obras que no son del hombre común: hay en él algo más que hombre: hay un nahualli poderoso y multiplicado.*" Derivation of the word may be from *nahualli, nahuala,* "*verbo arcaico, que encontramos en muchos compuestos. Su sentido es en general 'engañar, disimular' y conviene muy bien al prestidigitador, como al mago, que con embustes, fundados o sólo subjetivos, embauca a las gentes. En Molina hallamos, entre otros, los verbos:* nahualcaqui, *entrar disimulado, con cautela, secretamente:* nahualcuitia, *tomar algo a otro con cautela o disimulación;* nahuallachia, *acechar mirando, etc. Cabe dudar, sin embargo, si este verbo es el primitivo de nahualli o un derivado suyo.*"

In Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, and Gonzalo de Balsalobre: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1953), pp. 24 ff., it is said that "*se dedicaban al animal que el demonio les señalaba para que fuessen lo que llaman nahualli. . . .*

"*. . . quando el niño nasce, el demonio por el pacto expresso o tacito que sus padres tienen con el, le dedica o sujeta al animal; que el dicho niño ha de tener por nahual, que es como dezir por dueño de su natividad y señor de sus acciones o lo que los gentiles llamaban hado, y en virtud deste pacto queda el niño sujeto a todos los peligros y trabajos que padeciere el animal hasta la muerte.*

"*. . . advierto la denominacion y significacion del nombre nahualli, que puede derivarse de una de tres raizes que significan: la primera, mandar; la segunda, hablar con imperio; la tercera, ocultarse o reboçarse, y aunque ay conueniencias para que se acomoden las dos primeras significaciones, me quadra mas la tercera, que es del verbo nahualtia que es esconderse cubriendose con algo, que viene a ser lo mesmo que reboçarse, y assi, nahualli dira reboçado, o disfreçado debajo de la appariencia del tal animal, como ellos communmente lo creen.*"

See also Chap. 31, n. 1, *infra.*

¹ [i.e., the day One Rain. — Analyst]

782 And the commoners, the poor, only threw coarse incense into the fire. And finally the extremely poor, the poverty-stricken, the needy, the discontented, who came last, only cast aromatic herbs in the fire, thus making the offering in their own fires.[5]

642 And it is said that the lords and rulers were installed then, on the day One Dog; and there was a ●643 celebration, the royal ceremony, the rites of election,[6] on Four Reed. At that time the lords over the cities 431 came from everywhere. There was feasting, by which it was made known that the new ruler had been installed. Many came in this manner: as their salutations, their gifts of greeting, they bore and carried wrist bands, capes, flowers, tobacco. For whatsoever their cities were famous and renowned, from wherever and howsoever far they traveled, they offered gifts and paid tribute to the ruler, and greeted him and paid him great respect. Their elders, the lords, the orators, the able speakers, who were seated, returned like for like and answered them for him.

431 And in the same manner was it done and responded. Thus was returned their gratitude, in order to reciprocate, to acknowledge, to welcome, and to provide a repast. Flowers, tobacco, drink, food, and confections were presented. But the capes came in bundles. They were only in bales. Only by the bundle were they given and presented. Each brought out first the precious capes, appropriate to them, the ones to which they were entitled, made and completed in [the ruler's] house. Thereupon they gave them their choice and pleased them. What each thought best, or sought out, or what was fitting for him, or suited his liking, or his rank, they gave the lords over the cities; [the ruler's] servants thus honored and gave preference to each [of the lords] individually.

[482] The gifts hurried, rushed, hastened, and sped borne on their backs, carried and transported by the tump lines. And the leavings, worth nothing, of no value,

auh in çan maceoaltzintli, in motolinja, çan copalxalli in tleco qujtema: auh in ça iequene qujtzacuja, in molhujicnotlacatl, tequjicnotlacatl, in âavia, in auellamati: çan ie in jauhtli tleco qujtepeoa, ic qujtlamaca in jxcoian itleuh:

ioan mjtoa in tlatoque vncan motecutlaliaia motlatocatlaliaia, in jpan in ce itzcujntli: auh ipan motequaltiaia, motecpacaia, motlatocapacaia, in nauhacatl, iquac noviian oalhuja, in altepetl ipan tlatoque, coanotzalo, ic machitilo in iancujcan tlatoanj omotlali, mjiec injc oalhuj, in jntetlapaloaia, in jntetlapalol qujoalcuj, qujoalitquj in macuextli, in tilmatli, in suchitl, in jetl, in çaço tlein imamaujzço, yximachoca imaltepeuh, in campa, in quexqujchca oaleoa, qujtlamamaca, qujtlatequjlia in tlatoanj, ioan qujtlapaloa, qujtlatlauhtia, oalmotlalia in jntechiuhcaoan, in tecutlatoque, in vellatoa, in tlatolmati, qujtlacuepilia, qujntlananqujlilia:

auh çan no iuj in chioalo, in namjco, çan ic mocuepa in jnnetlaçotlaliz, injc motlaneuj, injc mjximati, injc momalcochoa, injc mocoachioa, qujmomamaca in xuchitl, in jetl, in atl, in tlaqualli, in tlaqualtectli: auh in tilmatli çan qujqujmjliuhtiuh, çan qujqujmjlietiuh, çan qujmjltica in qujmomaca, in, in qujmotlauhtia, qujiaiacana in tlaçotilmatli, in tetechtilmatli, in vel intonal icalitic ochioaloc, otlatlan, iquac impan qujnpepena, inpan qujnuelitta, qujntlatlattilia, qujmjipantia, qujnpapantia, qujnpapanjtia, in quenamj qujnmacazque altepetl ipan tlatoque: injc nononqua qujnmaujztilia, qujnvecapano, intetlaujcalhoan.

tlaliuj, tlâtlaliuj, tlâtlalhujtiuj, tlâtlaliooa, in tlamamalo, in tlâtlatqujoa, quaquailpitiuh in netlauhtilli: auh in netlacaujlli, âtle tlaçotli, âtlatlaçotli, tla-

---

[5] Corresponding Spanish text: *"Los pobres ofrecían un encienso, que llaman copalxalli, en su mismo hogar: y los muy pobres, ofrecían una yerva molida, que se llama yauhtli en sus mismos hogares."* — In Sahagún (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 371, it is *Tagetes lucida;* see also J. E. S. Thompson: *Mexico Before Cortez* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), p. 185.

Emmart, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-240, notes that Louis Reffeur, in *La médecine chez les mexicains précolombiens* (Paris: Jouve and Boyer, 1900), p. 95, identifies *yauhtli* as a species of absinthe; A. Gerste, in *Notes sur la médecine et la botanique des anciens mexicains* (Rome: Imprimerie Polyglotte Vaticane, 1909), p. 54, says it is definitely narcotic. Jacinto de la Serna's "Manual de ministros para conocer y extirpar las idolatrías de los indios," in Jacinto de la Serna, Pedro Ponce, and Fr. Pedro de Feria: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente de Cultura, n.d.), p. 249, identifies *yauhtli* as *yerbanís*, which, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 298, is *"Nombre vulgar que en el norte del país, en Méjico, se da a una planta parecida al cempoalxóchitl* (Tagetes anisum), *cuyas hojas huelen a anís."*

[6] Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 64. Sahagún (Garibay ed.), VIII, 18, 14: *"la fiesta de su elección, que llaman motlatocapaca."*